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EDITORIAL

HANS DENCK, IN SPITE OF A CONSIDERABLE LITERATURE ABOUT HIM, INCLUDING several major monographs, remains a somewhat enigmatic figure in Anabaptist history. Fifty years ago it was the fashion to call him an outstanding and typical Anabaptist. Since Alfred Hegler has clarified issues by clearly distinguishing the Spiritualists from the true Anabaptists, Denck has often seemed more of a Spiritualist than a true Anabaptist. His apparent "recantation" on his deathbed cast a considerable shadow on his integrity. His relation to the rest of the Anabaptist movement has been somewhat obscure. The major article on Denck in this issue by J. J. Kiwiet is not only the first major work on Denck in the past twenty years (except for the 1956-57 edition of Denck's works edited by Fellmann), it is also a thoroughgoing re-evaluation of Denck and his place in Anabaptist history. To a certain extent it represents a rehabilitation of Denck and a removal from a half-Spiritualist position closer to a true Anabaptist status, although on this score there are still certain important questions and reservations. Even more important is Kiwiet's conclusion that Denck represents a type of Anabaptism not wholly coincident with the Swiss Brethren-Zürich group, and that this type, founded by Denck, developed into a major and significant Anabaptist grouping led later by Pilgram Marpeck. Kiwiet's thesis demands the most careful examination. If fully acceptable it will contribute much to a clarification of South German Anabaptist history and will establish a new basis for further work in this field. The present article will be followed by an article on the theology of Hans Denck in the issue of January 1958.

THE FIRST MENNONITE PRINTER AND PUBLISHER IN AMERICA, JOSHEPH FUNK OF Virginia, is the subject of a thorough biographical and bibliographical treatment in this issue by Irvin Horst. As an editor of widely used songbooks as well as of a musical journal, Funk had no small influence on musical development in the South, as well as on the Mennonites of the Shenandoah Valley. Although living in an out-of-the-way corner on the fringe of American Mennonitism, he well deserves the definitive study of his life and work which appears in this issue.

THE WELL-DOCUMENTED ACCOUNT OF NONRESISTANCE IN THE EARLY BRETHREN in Christ in Ontario reports clearly the governmental actions bearing in this issue. Since these actions regularly included the Mennonites, the report casts equal light on the position of the Mennonites in Ontario on nonresistance. The two groups stood shoulder to shoulder, and still do, in this and other major testimonies and Christian faith and practice.

IN THIS ISSUE OF THE REVIEW SILAS HERTZLER PRESENTS HIS ANNUAL SUMMARY of attendance in Mennonite colleges.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE LIFE OF HANS DENCK (*ca.* 1500-1527)

JAN J. KIWIET*

Ernst Troeltsch aroused quite a protest[1] when he attacked the tradition that the Anabaptists originated with the teaching of Thomas Müntzer, and when he then pointed to Zürich as the place of their origin.[2] His supposition was, however, provided with historical evidence by Correll, Köhler, Neff,[3] and others.[4] Since 1925 the discussion seems to have been closed, although some scholars have attempted to attribute the Anabaptist origins in Zürich to Thomas Müntzer.

Several problems remain, however. Where do the spiritualistic and eschatological tendencies among some Anabaptist groups come from? Only a negative answer has been given as yet; it is not from Zürich.[5] Neither of these tendencies can be denied with the argument that they are not found in the Anabaptist teaching. Wiswedel recently wrote an article in which he quotes a whole series of references to such spiritualistic conceptions, which he tries in vain to reconcile with the Biblicism of the Swiss Brethren.[6] In Hans Hut we find a very influential Anabaptist preacher who at the same time was

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1 The main opponent, Karl Holl, *Luther und die Schwärmer* (Tübingen, 1921) 366, 378.

2 E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Sekten* (Tübingen, 1912) 795.

3 Ernst Correll, *Das schweizerische Täufermennonitentum* (Tübingen, 1925). Walther Köhler, "Die Zürcher Täufer"; Chr. Neff, "Konrad Grebel," *Gedenkschrift der Mennoniten* (1925) 48-133.

4 Latest extensive research on this point by Harold S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel, 1498-1525, Founder of the Swiss Brethren* (Goshen, 1950).

5 Several articles in the MQR, e.g. John Horsch, "The Faith of the Swiss Brethren," IV (1930) 241-66; V (1931) 7-27, 128-47, 245-59.

6 Wilhelm Wiswedel, "The Inner and the Outer Word," *MQR* XXVI (1952) 171-91.

a fervent eschatological evangelist.[7] So neither of these tendencies can be ignored.

A striking fact in this connection is the neglect of research in the history of the Anabaptist movement in South Germany.[8] Although since 1930 five volumes of source collections have been published by the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte,[9] John Horsch devoted only three pages to South Germany in his major work, which reveals no evidence of research on this point.[10] Gunnar Westin in his survey of the research in Anabaptist history does not mention South Germany; only the Mennonites, Hutterites, and Swiss Brethren are taken into consideration.[11] Because of this omission the discussion about the origins of the Anabaptist movement cannot be considered as being closed.

For this purpose a start could be made with a study of Hans Denck's teaching. During the rise of the Reformation and of the Anabaptist movement he lived in the main centers of South Germany, in the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Worms, which together with Wittenberg were the important cities upon which depended the progress of the Reformation. We need to consider Denck's teaching, more than his life history, in connection with the questions concerning the eschatological and spiritualistic tendencies mentioned above.

About a century ago a Roman Catholic scholar, von Döllinger, saved Denck from oblivion.[12] The first and best research, however, was done by Heberle in 1851 and 1855;[13] all later studies are based upon his work. In 1853 the first dissertation on the life and theology of Hans Denck was written by the Alsatian scholar Roehrich, who derived Denck's teaching from Thomas Müntzer and Ludwig Haetzer.[14] About twenty years later Denck received much publicity through the studies of Ludwig Keller, a state archivist in Berlin. Keller's main books all center around his hero, Hans Denck.[15] Unfortunately Keller's enthusiasm was guided by his ideologies rather than by a real interest in history, which the very title of his biography of Denck indicates. Denck was for Keller an apostle, standing in the

7 W. Neuser, *Hans Hut* (Berlin, 1913).

8 Only Wiswedel did some work in this respect, but he traced no historical connections between his scenes and leaders: *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* (1928-52) 3 vv.

9 *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* (1930-51) 5 vv.

10 John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1942, 2nd rev. ed. 1950).

11 G. Westlin, *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift* (Uppsala, 1952) 52-92.

12 J. von Döllinger, *Die Reformation* I (Regensburg, 1848) 192-97.

13 Urban Heberle, "Johann Denk und sein Büchlein vom Gesetz," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* XXIV (1851) 121-94, 412-13; "Johann Denk und die Ausbreitung seiner Lehre," *op cit.* XXVIII (1855) 817-90.

14 G. G. Roehrich, *Essai sur la vie, les écrits et la doctrine de Jean Denk* (Strasbourg, 1853).

15 Ludwig Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertäufer* (Leipzig, 1882), *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien* (Leipzig, 1885), *Johann von Staupitz* (Leipzig, 1888).

apostolic succession and being sent out by the congregations of the Brethren in Christ. According to Keller, these congregations could trace their history back to the primitive Christian church. Of old they were against the authoritative power of dogma and church; they acted by synods and believed in the priesthood of all believers. They did not believe in the power of the sacraments but in the power of a life with Christ.[16]

We may admire these fine concepts, but it is not allowable to refashion the historical facts in order to get an apostolic succession and an ideal congregation. Keller has been honored repeatedly[17] for his pioneer work in Anabaptist history, but at the same time it must be noticed that it is mainly due to his studies that the research in the Anabaptist movement in South Germany reached an impasse.

In 1883 Beard focused the attention of English scholars on Denck.[18] Some years later Heath depicted Denck as a precursor of the Society of Friends,[19] which was worked out by Rufus Jones in 1914[20] and taken over by the German Quakers.[21] The latest books on Denck in the English language were written by Weis and Coutts.[22] All these studies were based upon the interpretation of Keller without much critical approach.

Two dissertations about the teaching of Denck have appeared since that of Roehrich in 1853: one by the Mennonite pastor Haake, who considers Denck the precursor of liberal theology,[22a] the other by Vittali, who sees in Denck a follower of Müntzer and Karlstadt and does not take into account any research by the Mennonite scholars in Germany and America in the same area of study.[23]

In order to get an answer to our questions concerning the eschatological and spiritualistic elements in some Anabaptist groups, we propose to make a study of Denck and his teaching. We will have to consider the origins of his teaching and the development of his personality in the first section of this study. In this connection we need to dwell especially on the revival of the German mystics during the time of the Reformation, because this revival created various opponents to the Lutheran Reformation. In the second part of this paper, we will deal with the religious activities of Denck, because his activi-

16 Keller, *Die Reformation*, 63-94.
17 Recently by F. H. Littell: *The Anabaptist View of the Church* (Hartford, 1952).
18 Charles Beard, *Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1883).
19 Richard Heath, "Hans Denck, the Anabaptist," *Contemporary Review* (1892).
20 Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (London, 1914).
21 A. M. Schwindt, *Hans Denck, ein Vorkämpfer undogmatischen Christentums* (Habertshof, 1922).
22 Alfred Coutts, *Hans Denck, Humanist and Heretic* (Edinburgh, 1927). F. L. Weis, *The Life, Teachings and Works of Johannes Denck* (Strasbourg, 1924).
22a G. Haake, *Hans Denck, ein Vorläufer der neueren Theologie* (Norden, 1897).
23 O. E. Vittali, *Die Theologie des Wiedertäufers Hans Denck* (Offenburg, 1932).

ties have been depicted in such various ways. We need to have the historical picture of Denck as accurate as possible in order to trace the stages and the purpose of his teaching. Then we will be able to give an exposition of his teaching in the third part of this paper. In the fourth and last part we will try to trace Denck's influence upon his contemporaries and upon later generations.

THE EARLY YEARS OF HANS DENCK AND THE ORIGINS OF HIS TEACHING

Hans Denck[24] did not attract the attention of his friends because of his parentage,[25] but rather because of his talents. It is for this reason that we do not know much about his early years. He must have been born later than Keller suggested, who proposed a date somewhere around 1495 on the basis of a description of Denck as a young man (*juvenis*) in the year 1525.[26] Others, however, used the designation youngster (*puber* or *pubes*) for him in the year 1527.[27] Besides, we know that Denck matriculated at the University of Ingolstadt in 1517,[28] which points to a date rather after 1500 than before, because students usually entered the university at the age of fifteen or earlier.[29] So we can safely say that Denck was born around 1500. The same matriculation shows that Denck's place of birth was Heybach in Upper Bavaria. About his youth we have a statement by Denck himself in his first public confession:[30]

> From my childhood I learned the faith through my parents and I spoke regularly about it; later on I also read many books and I praised myself still more for having faith, but in truth I never had really faced the opposite, the fact of sin, which is inborn to me by nature, although it was pointed out to me many times.

Burckhardt suggested on the basis of this passage that Denck's parents were members of the Bohemian Brethren.[31] There is no basis for such a suggestion; neither does this passage necessarily point to a special Christian education. It is meant as a confession that faith cannot be achieved either by the teaching of parents or by study. Here again we must say that we do not know much about Denck's parents.

24 His name was written in at least 7 different ways, of which this form was used most frequently: Schwindt, *op. cit.*, 75.

25 Keller suggested that the builder Wolfgang Denck was a close relative to Hans Denck: *Staupitz*, 207.

26 *Letter of Vadian to Johann Zwick* (1540) 19.

27 Erasmus, Oecolampadius and Cratander: Keller, *ibid.*, 418.

28 G. von Pölnitz, *Die Matrikel der Universität Ingolstadt* (Augsburg, 1937) 414.

29 E. Horn in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* XX (3d ed., 1908) 274.

30 Nuremberg, Jan. 14, 1525: Keller, *Staupitz*, 405.

31 Paul Burckhardt, *Die Basler Täufer* (Basel, 1898) 7.

Two days before Luther nailed his 95 Theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg, Denck registered at the University of Ingolstadt.[32] Here Luther's fervent opponent, Dr. Johann Eck (1486-1543), ruled powerfully over the university. Denck certainly must have been very well informed about the progress of the Reformation. The University of Ingolstadt had humanistic origins.[33] Founded in 1472 it gained in importance annually until its golden age in the last decade of the 15th century. In those days the famous poet Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), a pupil of Rudolph Agricola, lectured. Several of those who studied in Ingolstadt during this period were influential leaders and scholars in Nuremberg and Augsburg during the first years of the Reformation.

When Denck went to Ingolstadt the university was no longer famous; Vienna had taken its place. Its humanistic traditions, however, were still alive and evoked Denck's interest. Language must have been his favorite study, because he became an excellent "trilinguist"[34] later on, which was quite an exception in his day. Already in 1519 he finished his studies in Ingolstadt with the degrees of "scholasticus" and "Baccalaureus."[35]

Denck probably had left Ingolstadt when Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522) arrived (November 1519), for we find Denck among the Humanists in Augsburg in the autumn of that very year. What Erasmus was for the revival of the study of Greek language and literature Reuchlin was for the Hebrew language and literature. When Reuchlin started his lectures in March 1520 many students went up to Ingolstadt to hear this famous scholar.[36] It may very well be that Denck returned for some time during the latter part of 1520 or spring of 1521.[37] Denck's knowledge of Hebrew was excellent, which may have been due to this magnificent teacher. At any rate, before his possible contact with Reuchlin a period of wandering had begun for Hans Denck. From the autumn of 1519 we find him wandering from place to place in South Germany.

WANDERING THROUGH SOUTHERN GERMANY

The Leipzig Disputation, in the summer of 1519, had given much publicity to the controversy between Eck and Luther. During the remainder of that year Eck wrote at least eight booklets against

32 Oct. 29, 1517; see note 5.
33 G. Bauch, *Die Anfänge des Humanismus in Ingolstadt* (Munich and Leipzig, 1901) 115.
34 Indication for a person who had a knowledge of the three classical languages: Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.
35 Keller, *Staupitz*, 207.
36 L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1871) 468.
37 In April 1521 Reuchlin left Ingolstadt, *ibid.*, 470.

Luther, by which he also involved the Humanists of Augsburg in this struggle.[38] The leading Humanist, Bernhard Adelmann (1457-1523), immediately wrote a booklet against Eck, which in effect placed the Humanists of South Germany on the side of Luther (December 1519). "No writing published against me has ever been so hard to endure,"[39] Eck said, and he would have burned it publicly if Reuchlin and others had not prevented him.

Denck's departure from Ingolstadt in the autumn of 1519 may have been related to this public break of the Humanists with Eck;[40] at any rate, Denck was on their side. We find him in Augsburg with Veit Bild (1481-1529), a very learned monk, whose mind embraced all the knowledge of his time.[41] Bild's favorite study was astrology, but he was also a good musician and poet. Through the influence of Veit Bild, the cloister of St. Ulrich became a center of Humanism in Augsburg. In the beginning of 1519 Bild had started to study Greek with Oecolampadius and at the end of that same year he was reading Greek and Latin poems with Denck. This friendship certainly was important for Denck. Denck appreciated very much the fact that this scholar, who was about twenty years his senior, wanted to introduce him to classical poetry.[42] Although Bild was an admirer of Luther and interested in the Reformation[43] his influence upon Denck was mainly literary.

Denck, however, had to leave Augsburg in order to earn his living. Marquard von Stein, "Domherr" of Augsburg, probably found him a job.[44] Denck became a teacher in Stotzingen[45] near Ulm. Of course he could not forget his friend Veit Bild in Augsburg. We still have three poems and two letters in which Denck remembers their intimate fellowship. It seems that his new surroundings did not satisfy Denck, for by March 1520 he is complaining about his situation and asks Bild to pass on his letter with a special recommendation to Bernhard Adelmann. Denck received a position in Augsburg with good conditions and planned to return at Pentecost (May 27, 1520).

At this point we lose track of Hans Denck. He may have remained in Augsburg for some time; he may have returned to Ingol-

38 He called them "Canonici indocti Lutterani": Ernst Staehelin, *Das theologische Lebenswerk Johannes Oekolampads* (Leipzig, 1939) 105.

39 *Ibid.*, 110.

40 In the same time appeared the satire *Eckius dedolatus* by Willibald Pirckheimer, the leading Humanist of Nuremberg.

41 A. Schröder, "Der Humanist Veit Bild, Mönch bei St. Ulrich," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* (1874 ff.) 173-227.

42 ". . tu jam senior me puerum adhuc accersire litteris . . . dignatus es": Keller, *Staupitz*, 402.

43 Staehelin, *op cit.*, 106.

44 Keller, *Staupitz*, 208.

45 Schröder, *op cit.*, 206, mentioned Sterzingen in the Tyrol. Keller, *ibid.*, 208 and 400, published poems and letters written from Stotzingen. Christian Neff, "Hans Denk," *ML* I (1921) 401, mistakenly changed it to Stockingen.

stadt in the autumn of 1520 in order to hear Reuchlin;[46] he even may have been in Antwerp with Albrecht Dürer.[47] It is certain that he also was a precentor and teacher in Donauwörth, north of Augsburg, sometime during the period from May 1520 until autumn of 1522.[48] In this autumn we find him in Regensburg[49] in very poor circumstances. Augustinus Marius, the preacher of the cathedral in Regensburg, and other pious people took pity on him and got him a job. Denck became a teacher "im hohen Stift" because of his excellent knowledge of Latin and Greek. Very soon after that he was "begossen von dem lutherischen Geist" and left for Basel to visit Oecolampadius, whom Denck knew from his time in Augsburg. Although Marius does not mention why Denck suddenly became a Lutheran, it must have been connected with the arrival of Hubmaier (Dec. 1, 1522).[50] Hubmaier proposed to stay in Regensburg for one year to preach the Gospel. In the spring of that very year (1522) Christ had come into his heart; during that year he had studied the writings of Luther and Paul's letters to the Romans and Corinthians. By the end of 1522 Hubmaier wanted to preach from the Gospel of Luke in the same chapel which he had erected for pilgrimage and idolatry three years before. He had no success; very soon he left Regensburg and returned to Waldshut (March 1, 1523). Very likely Hubmaier had at least this influence that he won Denck for the cause of the Reformation during these days in Regensburg.

When Denck came to Basel (end of January or beginning of February 1523) he was received very kindly by Oecolampadius,[51] who was living in the house of the printer Cratander. Oecolampadius, after his arrival in Basel (Nov. 17, 1522), had been occupied with the publication of his translation of the works of Chrysostom,[52] by which he wanted to arouse interest in a Reformation.

Denck set to work as corrector in the printing-office of Curio.[51] Here he edited the famous Greek grammar of Theodor Gaza[53] in four volumes, the first volume of which already had been published by Erasmus (1465/66-1536) in 1516. In a Greek distichon and a Latin verse Denck praised the liberating power of the knowledge of the

46 See note 13.

47 Keller, *Monatshefte der Comenius Gesellschaft V* (1896) 287; and J. Multicampanus, *Erklärung des Propheten Micha* (Strasbourg, 1529) 83b, "Denck sey in welschen Landen gewesen."

48 Chronicle of Johann Knebel, ed. by J. Stieve: "Die Einführung der Reformation in Donauwörth," *Sitzungsbericht der Münchener Akademie* (1884) 390.

49 Augustinus Marius, introduction to his *Gutachten über den Täufer Carlin N.* (1530), ed. by Staehelin in *Briefe und Akten zum Leben Oekolampads* II (1927-34) 428-30.

50 Hubmaier's letter to Wolfgang Rychard, Jan. 17, 1523: Carl Sachsse, *D. Balthasar Hubmaier als Theologe* (Berlin, 1914) 84, 132.

51 Letter of Denck to Oecolampadius (October 1527): Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 102.

52 Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 173-85.

53 *Theodori Gazae introductionis grammaticae libri quattuor* (Basel, 1523).

Greek language.[54] In these poems we see that Denck was still an ardent Humanist. It may be that he had personal contact with Erasmus, although we have no historical reference to such a contact.[55] They certainly must have known[56] each other but probably were too different in age to be close friends.

We can readily perceive, however, the influence of Erasmus in the writings of Hans Denck. The interest in the Scriptures and in the original Christian church was typical for Denck also. Not only in these general principles do we see agreement but also in more specific concepts, in which they together differed considerably from the great majority of theologians. Both considered the Scriptures not as a harmonious unity, but rather as a book with contradictions. This concept was basic to the teaching of both. In their solution of this problem, however, they differed widely. Erasmus saw the solution to a good understanding of the Bible in a correct translation and interpretation;[57] Denck, however, was not satisfied with such a solution. Even after much study the contradictions and misunderstandings would remain. Beyond the human mind, Denck needed "the key of David," which is the Spirit of God.[58]

The friendship[59] with Oecolampadius introduced Denck to the growing movement of the Reformation in Basel. In the week after Easter of 1523 Oecolampadius started his famous lectures on Isaiah at the university. He immediately aroused enormous interest, not only because he based his lectures on the Hebrew text, but also because he gave a survey of the lectures in German for the laymen, of whom about 400 attended.[60] Denck was among his hearers.[61]

Denck, however, was not yet a theologian and his interest was still a literary one. Hardly any aspect of Denck's later theological teaching can be traced back to the Isaiah lectures. The problems of the Scripture, sacraments, and predestination were scarcely touched by Oecolampadius. Also in private discussions between Denck and Oecolampadius no religious matters had been taken up.[62] Denck had hardly finished the publication of Theodor Gaza's grammar when he

54 Ed. by Keller, *Die Reformation*, 331-32.

55 The statement of Coutts that "Denck was the most accurate Greek scholar in the Erasmus circle" is misleading: Coutts, *op. cit.*, 17.

56 Erasmus in his letter to Laz. Baysius (March 1, 1528) refers to the death of Denck: Keller, *Staupitz*, 418.

57 Cf. Erasmus, *Annotationes novi testamenti* (Basel, 1519), *passim*.

58 R. Kommoss, *Sebastian Franck und Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Berlin, 1934) 17, equates the critical ratio of Erasmus with Denck's religious conception of the Spirit.

59 Letter of Sigelsbach to Oecolampadius (April 1, 1527): "et amice saepe conversatum.' Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 279.

60 Staehelin, *Lebenswerk Oekolampads*, 189-92.

61 Letter of Oecolampadius to Pirkheimer (April 25, 1525): "audivit aliquod lectiones Essaiae": Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* I, 364.

62 Ibid.: "Nescio an multa de sacris contulerim cum eo . . . . de eucharistia . . . cum Denckio nihil."

left for Nuremberg.[63] On a special recommendation of Oecolampadius he was appointed headmaster of the St. Sebald's school,[64] the Humanist school at Nuremberg.

THE DECISIVE PERIOD IN NUREMBERG

No doubt it was a great change for Denck to move from Basel to Nuremberg, where the Reformation had almost gained the victory.[65] Ever since 1522 three preachers had proclaimed the Lutheran doctrine openly; especially the young pastor of the St. Lorenz church, Andreas Osiander (1498-1552), was very zealous for the new message. The soil had been prepared long before by Johann von Staupitz (*ca.* 1460-1524).[66] After 1503, when he became Vicar General of the Augustinian cloisters, Staupitz was very active in carrying out a reformation in the cloisters. After Staupitz had published the booklet,[67] *Von der Nachfolgung des willigen Sterbens Jesu Christi* (1515), he gained the interest of the Nuremberg Humanists. They invited him to come, and during the advent season of 1516 Staupitz preached in the Augustinian church of the Nuremberg monastery.[68] The church could hardly contain the crowds of people. A special Staupitz circle was started. Staupitz sent Wenzeslaus Linck (1483-1547) to Nuremberg to preach regularly in the Augustinian monastery, which became one of the earliest centers of the Lutheran Reformation.[69]

Here we meet another current contributing to the Reformation. Besides the Humanistic appeal of Reuchlin and Erasmus for a return to the Bible and to the original church, we find here the religious appeal for a life of devotion and dedication, which was very welcome to the Humanists of Nuremberg. Staupitz had brought them into contact with the rich tradition of the German mystics, which had received renewed attention since 1500.[70] The noted mystic, Meister Eckhart (*ca.* 1260-1327), had been very influential in this widespread movement. In addition to the doctrine of the scholastics he called for a Christian life, a life of contemplation, and a life of Christian serv-

63 About the first of September 1523; letter of Kaspar Ammann to Veit Bild (Sept. 6, 1523): *ibid.*, 251.

64 Letter of Oecolampadius to Pirkheimer (Feb. 26, 1525): *ibid.*, 359.

65 Friedrich Roth, *Die Einführung der Reformation in Nürnberg 1517-1528* (Würzburg, 1885). Not available to the author was A. Engelhardt, *Die Reformation in Nürnberg* (1936-39), 3 vv.

66 Keller, *Staupitz*, 22-52.

67 Ed. by J. K. F. Knaake, *Johannis Staupitii opera* (Potsdam, 1867) 50-88.

68 For all contents of the sermons see Keller, *Staupitz*, 36-41.

69 R. Bendixen, "Wenzeslaus Linck," *Realencyclopädie* XI, 507.

70 The sermons of Tauler were published: 1498 in Leipzig; 1508 in Augsburg; 1521, 1522, 1523 in Basel; according to Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 31. The *Theologia Deutsch* was published in 1497; 1516, 1518, 1520 by Luther in Wittenberg; 1518, 1519, 1520, 4 in Leipzig; 1518, 1520 in Augsburg; 1519, 1520 in Strasbourg; 1523 in Basel; according to F. Pfeiffer, *Theologia Deutsch* (Stuttgart, 1855), X-XII.

ice.[71] Eckhart was not just a mystic spending his life in contemplation, but he also was a very popular preacher in the Dominican order,[72] which had set as its aim the bringing of the Gospel to the laymen. Several of Eckhart's ideals were realized in the Reformation, when religion became a matter of the individual and when even the Bible was put into the hands of the laymen.

The followers of Eckhart, of whom Johann Tauler (*ca.* 1300-1361) was perhaps the most influential, lost the brilliance of their master. The life of contemplation, which was the source and basis of the life of Christian service, was reduced to an "hour of contemplation"[73] and was conceived more and more as a kind of ecstatic experience instead of a genuine and continual intercourse with God. The *German Theology* (*Theologia Deutsch*), which is of a later date than Tauler, is even more moderate in the place given to contemplation. The anonymous author[74] wrote against the numerous "free spirits" of his day, who lived just for ecstasy and did not care for morals and external forms of worship. The author of the *German Theology* does not claim any vision of his own, which Tauler and others repeatedly had done. Nor do we find the various stages of mystical religious experience,[75] because the author is no longer interested in experience. His interest is focused on a Christian life of obedience and service. Small wonder that Luther called it a German theology. In his introduction to the edition of 1518 Luther states that besides the Bible and Augustine he had never found a book which taught him more concerning God, Christ, and man. The *German Theology* rejects the search for experiences and visions and promotes a life of obedience and public worship.

That Denck was very much influenced by this book is quite clear from the terminology he used. It is, however, very misleading to call Denck a mystical thinker.[76] The author of the *German Theology* is not a pure mystic, as we pointed out. Moreover we find a typical difference between Denck's concepts and those of the *German Theology*. The latter is based upon scholastic theology with its ontological speculations,[77] while Bible passages are mainly used allegorically. Denck's teaching, however, starts off from the Bible; not ontology is of importance, but the will of God as we experience it in our

71 Recently this side of Eckhart's teaching was brought out by H. Piesch, *Meister Eckhart's Ethik* (Lucerne, 1935).

72 During 30 years he had various influential functions in this order: *ibid.*, XIII.

73 F. W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Studien zur Lebenslehre Taulers* (Berlin, 1940), 55.

74 "Ein deutscher Herr, ein Priester und Kustos in dem Deutschen Herren Haus zu Frankfurt."

75 An extensive list of these stages used by Tauler, in K. Grunewald, *Studien zu Joh. Taulers Frömmigkeit* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1930) 13.

76 G. G. Roehrich, *op. cit.*, 15. Eberhard Teufel, *Theologische Rundschau* XIII (1941) 183-97.

77 G. Siedel, *Theologia Deutsch* (Gotha, 1929) 52f.

hearts and find it testified to in the Bible. There is no place for ontological contemplation nor for any emotional contemplation of the type of Bernhard of Clairvaux. In Denck's teaching we do, to be sure, find the vocabulary of the *German Theology* but that has to be distinguished from its content.

It is via the Humanist circles of Nuremberg that Denck must have come into contact with the teaching of the *German Theology*. As headmaster of St. Sebald's school, which was built through the influence of the Humanists, he must have been an important personality among them. Denck married in January 1524,[78] probably a woman from these Humanist circles. We also know of his contact with the famous scientist Petrus Apianus,[79] whose book he recommended to the King of Saxony with a poem of praise and admiration.[80]

At the time of Denck's arrival in Nuremberg in September 1523 the attitude of many Humanists towards the Lutherans had already changed. The fervent denunciation of the Catholic abuses had evoked an aggressive mood among the Catholic and Lutheran population. Moreover, the extreme doctrinal preaching of the Lutheran gospel of the "sola gratia" was causing moral laxity and religious indifference among many of the Lutherans. These early results of the Reformation caused several of the Humanists to find a way of reform different from the Lutheran way. Two months before Denck entered Nuremberg the first protest against the Lutherans was heard through a poem of the Humanist Hans Sachs,[81] which became very famous. The following year (1524) Sachs wrote two dialogues[82] in which he set forth his opinions more clearly. He asserted that no Christianity could be possible without an imitation of Christ (*Nachfolge Christi*); that no real Reformation could be achieved by merely changing external forms, but first of all by a complete yielding (*Gelassenheit*) to the will of God.[83] Hans Greiffenberger also took up these themes[84] and published several pamphlets.[85] In Denck's books we find the same themes and from them it is clear that the Humanists of Nuremberg exerted a decisive influence on Denck. It is also clear that the protest against Lutheranism was not evoked only by Müntzer and the

78 Feb. 10, 1524, he received extra pay amounting to 52 guilders a year because of his marriage; Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 248.

79 S. Günther, "Peter and Philipp Apian," *Abhandlungen der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Prag, 1882) XI, 136.

80 Petrus Apianus, *Isagoge in typum cosmographicum* (Landshut, 1524).

81 *Trutzlied von der Wittenbergisch Nachtigall* (July 8 1523).

82 *Ein Dialogus, des Inhalt ein Argument der Römischen, wider das christliche Häuflein* (1524). *Ein Gespräch eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen* (1524).

83 R. Genée, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1902) 137-51.

84 *Die Welt sagt sie sehe keine Besserung von denen, die sich lutherisch nennen* (1523); cf. Roth, *op. cit.*, 125 f.

85 In 1524 six other pamphlets; cf. Th. Kolde, "Hans Denck und die gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg," *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* VIII (1902) 12-14.

Peasants' War as has been asserted so often, but also by people of a real religious concern.

The autumn of 1524 saw the culmination of the Humanistic protest in Nuremberg. Influences from outside strengthened their convictions. At the end of September 1524 both Thomas Müntzer (1488/89-1525) and his follower Heinrich Pfeiffer were expelled from Mühlhausen (Thuringia). They went to Nuremberg to find a printer for their protests against Luther.[86] Most scholars[87] make them responsible for the big stir which was aroused some months later. From the minutes of the Council[88] we see that some of the defendants in a court trial had been in contact with Müntzer and Pfeiffer. The influence of Müntzer and Pfeiffer was not great however. Otto Brandt gives the following characteristics of Müntzer's teaching:[89] (1) the teaching of the inner revelation by visions, dreams, and ecstasies; (2) the eschatological chiliastic teaching; and (3) the realization of the kingdom by force. We do not find these teachings of Müntzer among the above defendants. They only denied the supreme authority of the council in religious matters but did not connect this opinion with any eschatological ideology.[90]

The assertion has often been made that Denck was a follower of Müntzer.[91] Historically it is quite possible that they met during this time in Nuremberg.[92] Denck's teaching, however, shows no sign of dependence on Müntzer. We find no inner revelations and no chiliastic teaching in Denck's books; furthermore he always opposed a reformation by force.[93] Müntzer was influenced by Tauler and consequently we find similarities in terminology and teaching between Müntzer and Denck, but that does not necessarily mean interdependence. There is at least as great a difference between Denck and Müntzer as there is between the *German Theology* and Tauler.

Another protest against Luther was made by Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (*ca.* 1480-1541). After December 1523 he was especially inspired by the study of the *German Theology*. His protest was more a theological one, which evoked the struggle concerning the

86 It was in Nuremberg that Müntzer's most scornful protest was printed, viz., *Hoch verursachte Schutzrede* (1524).

87 Kolde, *op. cit.*, 10. H. Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt* II (1905) 241, ascribes the stir to the influence of Karlstadt.

88 Ed. by Th. Kolde, "Zum Prozess des Johann Denk und der drei gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg," *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien* (1888) 243-50.

89 O. H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer* (Jena, 1933) 6, 21-36.

90 A similar attitude arose among the Zürich Anabaptists without any influence of Müntzer.

91 The traditional viewpoint, started by Bucer in *Getreue Warnung der Prediger zu Strassburg* (July 1527) fol. A VI.

92 Müntzer left before October 26, while Pfeiffer was expelled three days later. Kolde, "Hans Denk," 11-12.

93 Only once the council warned Denck, because he forbade his pupils to assist the Roman Catholic vicars in the worship services; minutes of the council, June 13, 1524; ed. by Th. Kolde, *Andreas Althammer* (Erlangen, 1895) 17.

Lord's Supper. One of his followers, Martin Reinhard, came to Nuremberg in the beginning of November 1524.[94] Most probably he brought with him some of Karlstadt's tracts concerning the Lord's Supper in order to have them printed. Already before the arrival of Reinhard in Nuremberg, Hans Greiffenberger had proclaimed his doubt whether the bread and wine were really the body and blood of Christ. Also in the inns they mocked at the traditional conceptions.[95] All this was not very significant because Greiffenberger was easily convinced of his error by Osiander.[96] When, however, Martin Reinhard proclaimed that Karlstadt also opposed this doctrine of the presence of Christ in bread and wine, a general protest was heard among the Humanists. Reinhard had to leave (Dec. 17), but the irregularities increased. Around Christmas a pamphlet by Karlstadt was read publicly on the market place.[97] Several Humanists had to appear before the council.

The culmination of these troubles was the case of the "three godless painters."[98] This also involved Denck, because one of the artists, Sebald Beheym, had discussed his doubt concerning the sacraments with him. The latter immediately was summoned before the council, for it was too dangerous that "the schoolmaster" should hold such convictions. Mostly Denck is considered as the leader of this Humanistic opposition.[99] There is, however, no evidence of any organized opposition, nor does any of the other defendants refer to Denck. Moreover, Denck differed considerably from the three artists in his convictions, so that his case had to be dealt with separately.[100]

The first discussion with the preachers, who were also present at the council meetings, resulted in a complete misunderstanding. Not only the different viewpoint, but also the terse style of Denck's speeches made a discussion impossible. Then the preachers asked for a written confession concerning the Scriptures, sin, righteousness of God, law, Gospel, baptism, and the Lord's Supper.[101] In his confession, Denck hardly dealt with the subjects in question,[102] because he mainly wanted to show his different starting point. Denck rejected any discussion about the value of the Scriptures and sacraments in themselves, because their value is dependent upon the attitude of the person using or taking them. To the believer they are the way of

94 Barge, *op. cit.*, 240-42.
95 *Ibid.*, 191.
96 Osiander's Gutachten über Greiffensberger (November 1524), ed. by Kolde, "Hans Denk," 30/31.
97 By Erasmus Wisberger, *ibid.*, 18.
98 Kolde, "Hans Denk," pp. 49-72 (see note 62); Kolde, "Zum Prozess," 231-50, see note 65).
99 Keller, *Staupitz*, 206-8; Kolde, "Hans Denk," 20; Barge, *op. cit.*, 242.
100 The case of the painters was postponed to Jan. 25: Kolde, "Zum Prozess," 242.
101 *Gutachten der Nürnberger Prediger*, ed. by Kolde, "Zum Prozess," 237-42.
102 His confessions, ed. by Kolde, *ibid.*, 231-37.

salvation, but to the unbeliever the Scriptures and sacraments might even become a curse; faith always precedes as a gift of God and never is achieved, neither by the Scriptures nor by the sacraments, as the Lutherans asserted.

The council gave Denck two more days to write down more elaborately his concepts of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Again Denck stated clearly: "Water cannot wash away sin, even as one cannot wash away the red color from tile. Only the Word of God is powerful to pierce into the abyss of the heart. Whoever has accepted this Word and has been baptized into the death of Christ, will receive the Spirit of Christ and will walk in newness of life."[103] Not the water of the sacrament but the Word of God, which is a wider concept than the Scriptures, creates faith within men.

The Lutheran preachers, of whom Osiander was the most influential, wrote an extensive judgment on Denck's confession to the council.[104] Concerning the Lord's Supper they wrote: "We still cannot understand whether or not bread and wine is the blood and flesh of Christ according to Denck's conception, because one time he says yes, and other time no." Again their different starting point stands out; the preachers wanted to discuss an objective validity of the sacrament, while Denck asserted that it had no objective value in itself, because its value depends on whether or not man believes.

This was also Denck's difference with Karlstadt. The latter said that the sacraments could not possibly achieve anything or it would mean that the redemption of Calvary had not been complete.[105] Against Karlstadt Denck said, "Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the completion of the work of Christ." Denck was opposing the positive objective evaluation of the Nuremberg preachers as well as the negative objective evaluation of Karlstadt. According to Denck, the sacraments cannot achieve faith, but for those who have received faith the sacraments are a completion of their salvation.

The Nuremberg preachers wrote to the Council that they had no hope in further discussion, because Denck seemed to have made up his mind, and besides that he had already given a copy of his confession to the people. Therefore they did not write to Denck, as they had promised, but immediately to the Council. They were, they said, ready for further discussion and instruction. In any case, they expected the Council to take right measures so that Denck would not spread his poisonous heresy among the people.[106] Jan. 21, 1525, the day when

103 About one week later the first believers' baptism was performed in Zürich (January 21-25).

104 See note 78.

105 Barge, *op. cit.*, 153-58.

106 Denck considered it unjust treatment that he was given no possibility of defense. Cf. letter to Augsburg Council (1526): Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 250-51.

the Zurich Council pronounced its judgment on Grebel and Manz and banished four others, Denck was expelled from Nuremberg "forever." Before nightfall he had to leave the city and was not allowed to come within ten miles of the town. "Welchs er also on sonder widerred, wiewol mit grossem erschrecken angenomen and zehalten . . . geschworn."[107]

THE RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY OF HANS DENCK AND ITS RESULTS

Denck's first literary effort was a vindication of his opinion concerning the Scriptures in the pamphlet *Wer die Wahrheit lieb hat* (1525). He gave forty examples of apparent contradictions[108] in the Bible and asserted that all theological discords, sects, and heresies have arisen from a one-sided interpretation. Only he who pays heed to the sole teacher, the Holy Spirit, will see the agreement of two contradicting passages; the one is enclosed by the other as time is enclosed by eternity and place by infinity.[109]

According to Oecolampadius Denck went to Mühlhausen after his banishment from Nuremberg and accepted a position as teacher there. It may be that Oecolampadius wanted to cast suspicion on Denck and by doing so to whitewash himself, for he made this statement concerning Denck in the same letter in which he defended himself to Pirkheimer, who had accused Oecolampadius of a friendly relationship to Müntzer.[110] But even if Denck was a teacher in Mühlhausen this would not mean that he had been a partisan of Müntzer.[111] Müntzer's influence in Mühlhausen has always been overestimated, as Brandt has shown.[112] During the revolution of the peasants Müntzer was with them in the field of battle and not in Mühlhausen. Hans Hut, the later Anabaptist leader, was in Müntzer's army but did not meet Denck.[113] Had Denck really been a partisan of Müntzer, this fact should be provable from his teaching, which, however, gives no evidence of Müntzer's ideology, as we have seen above.

In June 1525 Denck was in St. Gall, Switzerland. Apparently he was there only for a visit. It is possible that Balthasar Hubmaier, the leader of the Anabaptist congregation in Waldshut, had informed

107 Written by the town clerk; translation: "which he then accepted without protest, although with great terror, and which he promised to keep on oath." From the minutes, ed. by Keller, *Ein Apostel,* 250.

108 One example: John 12:47, "I did not come to judge the world." John 9:39, "For judgment came I into this world."

109 A refutation of this pamphlet by Andreas Altham(m)er, *Dialloge hoc est, conciliatio locorum scripturae* (1527), translated into German by Sebastian Franck.

110 Letter of Oecolampadius to Pirkheimer (April 22, 1525), Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* I, 364 f.

111 Heberle, *op. cit.,* 136.

112 Brandt, *op. cit.,* 16-21.,

113 Christian Meyer, *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* (1874) 223 f.

him about the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland, where St. Gall had become a stronghold of the Anabaptists. The membership of their congregation there was variously estimated at 800 to 1100.[114] We have two important testimonies of Denck's stay in St. Gall, one by the later burgomaster Joachim von Watt (Vadianus)[115] and the other by the chronicler Johannes Kessler,[116] both leaders of the Reformation in St. Gall.

According to the sequence in the chronicle of Kessler, Denck arrived some time after the disputation between the Evangelicals and the Anabaptists (June 5-7, 1525), which had resulted in the interdiction of every Anabaptist activity.[117] Kessler wrote:[118]

> Hans Denck, a Bavarian, was a learned, eloquent and humble man. . . . He was tall, very friendly, and of modest conduct. He was to be praised very much, had he not defiled himself and his teaching with terrible errors. . . . He was exceedingly trained in the word of the Scriptures and educated in the three main languages. . . . Although he had not much to do with the Anabaptists, yet he was a member of them and he lodged with Anabaptists. His opinion was that no man would go to hell nor would the devil be lost forever, but after a certain time all would be saved; for Paul said: God desires all men to be saved.[119] . . . Although the Scriptures prophesy everlasting things, it means nothing else than for a long time;[120] as God commanded His people to keep circumcision forever and yet in the New Testament it was displaced. His teaching was very similar to the phantasies of Origen; therefore Denck was condemned and rejected by many of the believers.
>
> Vadian expressed himself as follows:
>
> Denck really was in every respect excellent, even so that he surpassed his age and seemed greater than he was. He, however, so misused his mind that he defended with all efforts the opinion of Origen concerning the liberation and salvation of those who are condemned. He could cite Scripture passages sharply and above understanding. The bountiful love of our God was praised so much—as he did for instance in a certain meeting—that he seemed to give hope even to the most wicked and most hopeless people that they would obtain salvation, which would be granted to them someday however distant it might be.

From both testimonies we get a firsthand impression of Denck's teaching as well as of the misunderstanding of his hearers. Almost

114 John Horsch, "The Swiss Brethren in St. Gall," *MQR* VII (1933) 211.
115 *Joachimi Vadiani ad D. Joan Zuiccium Epistola* (1540) 19 f.
116 Johannes Kessler, *Sabbata*, ed. Emil Egli (St. Gall, 1902) 151 f.
117 Emil Egli, *Die St. Galler Täufer* (St. Gall, 1887) 37 f.
118 Translation in summarized form.
119 Further cited: John 10:16 and I Cor. 15:54, 55.
120 Jer. 3:5, "Will he be angry for ever?" Psalm 77:8, "Has his steadfast love forever ceased," From letter of Sigelsbach to Oecolampadius, in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 52 f.

everywhere[121] Denck was accused of teaching the heresy of Origen. Fortunately we can test these testimonies. Denck's second book[122] deals with the doctrines of election and redemption; it is even quite possible that Denck had a copy or manuscript of this book ready at hand, because Kessler says (in 1527) that he saw one of Denck's books.[123]

In Denck's second book everybody is invited to obey God. Nobody can excuse himself with the theory of predestination, for Christ has died for all mankind without exception. That does not mean that all are going to be saved; many may not want to obey God, but everybody can obey.[124] The message of repentance and conversion can freely be proclaimed to everybody; as many as are going to obey this message will be saved. Nowhere in Denck's extant writings is there a statement about the devil being saved, but Denck may very well have used a statement from the *German Theology,* which says: "Could the devil come to a real obedience, he would become an angel."[125]

The differences of Denck's thought from the teaching of Origen are first of all that Denck does not assert that everybody is going to be saved; secondly, Denck speaks about the redemption which has happened in the past at Calvary and about obedience in the present time, while Origen was thinking about the long processes of testing and purification after this life, which eventually would result in a general atonement. Denck never made any speculations about life after death; he was only concerned about the life of a Christian in the present. So Denck does not believe in a general atonement; he only proclaimed that Christ's atonement is sufficient for all mankind.

Vadian never forgot the tremendous influence of Hubmaier, Grebel, Haetzer, and Denck. Fifteen years later he wrote: "Neither the Pope nor the Sophists nor the hypocrites have done so much harm to solid piety during so many centuries as those have been harmful in a few years."[126]

DENCK'S STAY IN AUGSBURG

In the autumn of 1525[127] Denck succeeded in getting a position as teacher in Augsburg by the intercession of the noblemen, Bastians von Freyburg and Jörg Regel.[128] The latter had various friends

121 Urban Rhegius, *Wider den neuen Tauforden* (Augsburg, 1527) fol. M II; Martin Bucer, *Getreue Warnung* (Strasbourg, 1527) fol. A II. N. Th. Sigelbach's letter to Oecolampadius, in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 52 f. Sebastian Franck, *Chronica* III, 197.

122 *Was geredt sey, dass die Schrift sagt, Gott tue und mache das Gute und Böse* (n.d.).

123 *Sabbata,* 273.

124 *Ibid.,* fol C II, Cf. *Denck's Widerruf:* "Das Leiden Christi hat genug gethan für aller Menschen Sünd, so schon kein Mensch nimmer selig würde."

125 Siedel, *op. cit.,* 145.

126 Vadianus, *op. cit.,* 20.

127 According to Rhegius, Denck was in Augsburg more than a year; Denck left Augsburg in November 1526: Urban Rhegius, *Zwei wunderseltsame Sendbrief* (Augsburg, 1528) 3.

128 Letter of Denck to the council of Augsburg (1526), ed. by Keller, *Ein Apostel,* 250 f.

among the opponents of Luther; not only Caspar Schwenckfeld and Sebastian Franck, but also a more radical character, Ludwig Haetzer, was a friend of his. It was through these friends that Haetzer also came under the influence of the German mystics.[129] The period of Denck's stay in Augsburg has been refashioned by friend and foe.[130] Denck did not find an Anabaptist congregation in Augsburg when he arrived. Nor did he become the founder of a church. He was simply teaching Greek and Latin as he had done before in other towns of southern Germany.

The religious situation in Augsburg at that time was quite confusing. The Protestants were seriously divided on the matter of the Lord's Supper; in addition, there was still a considerable Catholic party. This situation is reflected in Denck's most important book, *Vom Gesetz Gottes*. "What does it profit if you reject all external ceremonies? What does it profit if you want to keep all of them? Teach each other to know God. . . . On both sides I see not only the people but also the pastors going astray."[131]

Denck may have written another book[132] in Augsburg, in which he attacked the excuse of the people that they were not able to choose their way of life because of God's providence. In the last chapter of this book Denck attacked the Lutheran pastors, whom he called scribes and false prophets, who proclaimed a false peace and not the peace of God. The book ends with an evangelistic appeal:

> Seek the Lord, you elected, you will find Him; yes He is seeking you already, only let yourself be found; yes He has already found you, He stands at the door and knocks; just open the door and He will come in and eat with you and you with Him. Ho, every one who thirsts, come to the waters . . . and I will make with you an everlasting covenant. Amen!

Denck did not like to give publicity to his opinions. His first book starts off:

> Does one want to give testimony of his faith to those who desire, then they say we want to sow dissension and rebellion among the people. Does one close one's ears to bad words, then they say we shun the light. Well, God has drawn me from the shelter. I open my mouth against my will, but God urges me, I am not allowed to be silent.[133]

129 G. Goeters, "Zu Ludwig Haetzers theologischer Entwicklung," *Theologische Zeitschrift* VII (1952) 320; although Haetzer was not influenced by Denck, as Goeters states.

130 Cf. *ML* I (1921) 405: "Denck trat an die Spitze der Täufergemeinde und entfaltete fortan als 'Apostel' oder Vorsteher derselben eine eifrige und ungemein erfolgreiche Tätigkeit. . . . Um das Jahr 1527 soll die Gemeinde 1100 Seelen gezählt haben."

131 *Vom Gesetz Gottes*, fol. A II, III.

132 *Ordnung Gottes und der Creaturen Werck* (1526).

133 Introduction to *Was geredt sey*.

After some time the rumor reached the Augsburg Council that Denck had been expelled from Nuremberg because of his refusal to obey the authorities. In a very polite letter[134] Denck shows that only religious matters were involved. Moreover, "How would I suffer divine judgment if I would not suffer the worldly judgment?" This letter was satisfactory to the Council and Denck could continue his teaching.

Very important for Denck was the visit of Hubmaier to Augsburg, who was on his way from Zürich to Moravia.[135] Hubmaier convinced Denck of the importance of believer's baptism and baptized him.[136] By this performance Denck became an Anabaptist, the only one in Augsburg at that time. Hans Denck did not become a member of the congregation of the Swiss Brethren but he himself became the originator of a new group of Anabaptists, the South German Anabaptists.

Some days later Hans Hut, a bookseller, came to Augsburg. Hut had already visited Denck in Nuremberg, when Hut was working there as a bookbinder.[137] Since that time Hut had been in Wittenberg and Erfurt and at last in Frankenhausen, where the army of the peasants was defeated. There he had heard Müntzer's long sermons during three days, who announced that the time had come when the power would be given to the people. They should only "fight zealously and be bold." Hut fled when it came to battle (May 27, 1525), but remained very enthusiastic for Müntzer's teaching. In his home town, Bibra, he preached the same gospel (June 1525). But about a year later a change had come in Hut's convictions.[138] Most probably it was the visit to Denck in Augsburg on Pentecost of 1526 which had changed him.

When Hut came to Denck's home in Augsburg, near the "haylig creutzer thor," he found another visitor there. It was Kaspar Färber from the Inn Valley, where the first Anabaptist baptisms had recently been performed. Denck as well as Färber persuaded Hut to have himself baptized. Following much discussion, Hut agreed, and was baptized by Denck.[139] After having been in Augsburg only three or four days, Hut left on a real missionary journey. He went to Franconia, Austria, and Moravia, baptizing numerous persons. His teaching

134 See note 21.

135 Hubmaier was released in Zurich immediately after April 15, 1526; L. von Muralt, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz* (Zurich, 1952) 196.

136 Letter of Gynoräus to Zwingli (Aug. 22, 1526)) in *Zwingli Werke* VIII, 689.

137 Sources ed. by Chr. Meyer, *Z. Schw. N.* (1874) 224, 229. See also W. Neuser, *op. cit.*, 17-34.

138 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 241.

139 *Ibid.*, 224 and 245. Keller wrote: "Hans Huts Taufe war während der ersten grossen Capitelversammlung der oberdeutschen, schweizerischen und österreichischen Brüdergemeinden." *Reformation*, 424.

remained very eschatological, but the believers were not allowed to bring the kingdom in by force.[140] In his teaching concerning baptism, Hut had exactly the same motivations as Denck, who in turn had received this teaching from Hubmaier.[141]

Denck did not baptize anyone else during this stay in Augsburg as far as we can gather from the published sources.[142] Roth states, on the basis of unpublished sources, that in September 1527 a certain Anna Schreglin appeared to have been baptized by Denck.[143] She may very well have been baptized during Denck's later stay in Augsburg (August 1526). At least no congregation was formed in Augsburg during the year 1526. We know, however, that Denck found a faithful friend and follower in the rich patrician, Eitelhans Langenmantel, who wrote several booklets reflecting very clearly the teaching of Denck.[144]

In November 1526 difficulties arose between the leading Reformer, Urbanus Rhegius (1489-1546), and Denck about the latter's concept of redemption, [145] which was misunderstood in the same way as in St. Gall. We see that specific Anabaptist doctrines were not yet in question. Almost one year later Rhegius discovered that Denck had been an Anabaptist during his former stay in Augsburg.[146] Rhegius and Denck could not come to an understanding; a discussion in the presence of the other pastors had no result. Rhegius suggested that the matter be discussed before the Council, which Denck gladly accepted: Denck even said that he was ready to discuss the matter in the presence of all the citizens. The next day, however, when they were to have met, Denck had left for Strasbourg. It is a pity that the only information we have about these difficulties comes from the hand of Urban Rhegius.[147]

Denck had left Augsburg, but his work continued. In the autumn of 1526, the well-known Anabaptist leader from Waldshut, Jacob Gross, and his wife came to Langenmantel.[148] Sometime later a certain Sigmund Salminger and his wife went from Munich to Augsburg; they had already been won for the Anabaptist teaching by Hut, but not yet baptized.[149] Also Jacob Dachser and his wife joined the

140 "Die Bauern haben nicht recht gehabt, denn sie haben das Ihre gesucht und nicht Gottes Ehre." Meyer, *op. cit.*, 241.

141 Sachsse, *op. cit.*, 195-201.

142 Sources ed. by Roth, *Z. Schw. N.* XXVII (1900) 1-45.

143 Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte* I (1901) 263.

144 Excerpts by Heberle, *op. cit.*, 861-63.

145 U. Rhegius, *Wider den newen Taufforden* (Sept. 6, 1527) fol. A II, M II.

146 *Ibid.*, fol. A II: "Denck hat sich zu erst in die winckel gesteckt unnd heymlich seyn gyfft aussgossen."

147 See note 38.

148 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 245 f. Baptized by Hubmaier in Waldshut.

149 Roth, *Z. Schw. N.* XXVIII (1901) 69. Meyer, *op. cit.*, 246.

group; he had been a Catholic priest in Ingolstadt, but had to leave because of his ideas and his marriage.[150]

Among these friends the ardent desire arose to be baptized and to start a real Christian congregation. They accordingly invited Hans Hut to come, who was somewhere around Nuremberg,[151] and were baptized by him (Lent of 1527). As far as we can gather from the sources, the new congregation consisted of the following five members: Langenmantel,[152] his servant Hermann, Salminger and his wife, and Dachser. [153] Salminger became the elder, while Dachser became substitute. [154] The election of an elder does not mean that the church had many members, but only that they needed an elder for the performance of baptism. Langenmantel never baptized, because "he had not the authority to baptize." We also know that whenever a member was sent out for some mission project he received the authority to baptize.[155]

From this time onward the Anabaptist movement in Augsburg spread rapidly by the zealous preaching of Salminger and Dachser. Gross was working outside Augsburg and Hut continued his activity in Franconia and Austria, where many accepted his preaching. Only within and around Augsburg was the message proclaimed according to Denck's interpretation, while most of the Anabaptists in Franconia and Austria accepted Hut's eschatological teachings.

DENCK'S PUBLIC ACTIVITY

Although Denck could exert his influence more or less secretly up to this time, in Strasbourg he was bound to come to the fore. This city, the place where Tauler was born and where Eckhart taught for some time, was much more open to his teaching. Already in the autumn of 1524 Nicolas Storch, one of the Zwickau prophets, and Karlstadt had found a refuge in Strasbourg. Especially Karlstadt aroused quite a stir by preaching against the sacraments and images, because faith comes only in a supernatural way, free of any natural element. Karlstadt also protested against the existence of civil authority in a Christian community.[156]

The reformers Bucer (1491-1551) and Capito (1478-1541) had to take a stand against opposition within the church. On the day after

150 M. Radlkofer, "Jakob Dachser und Sigmund Salminger," *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte VI* (Erlangen, 1900) 1-30.
151 Roth, *op. cit.*, 22.
152 *Ibid.*, 17.
153 *Ibid.*, 11.
154 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 212.
155 Roth, *op. cit.*, 17, 19.
156 C. Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung* (Strasbourg, 1889) 2-12.

Christmas, 1524, they published a book [157] in which they admitted that faith comes in a supernatural way, and that therefore baptism might be performed on infants or might be postponed until a later age. So they gave in to the Karlstadt party with the concept of a supernatural faith, but at the same time they tried to satisfy the other party by allowing the baptism of infants. It was more a matter of church management than of real conviction with the leaders.[158] Capito wrote to Zwingli: "Let us reflect more accurately upon the matter of paedobaptism. Some have arisen here who deny it, but they are from the uneducated populace; moved, I think, by certain books, which I could not yet get hold of."[159]

It may be that Hubmaier came to Strasbourg in early July 1525.[160] At any rate, his booklet on baptism was printed there at that time and it received publicity among the Karlstadt party.[161] Only one year later, when some Anabaptists had come to Strasbourg, a group was formed which then was discovered by the Council (August 1526). The Anabaptist movement got a real impetus by the arrival of Michael Sattler (*ca.* 1495-1527) and Hans Denck during the autumn of 1526.

Capito was already prejudiced against Denck before he arrived, for he was told that Denck had been expelled from Nuremberg because he denied that the Holy Spirit and the Son were equal to the Father.[162] The Trinity, however, had not been the point of discussion, as we have seen above. It is not correct to depict Denck as a "pioneer of the Unitarians" on the basis of this false presumption by Capito.[163] Denck's influence in Strasbourg was not only felt in the small circle of the Anabaptists, but also among the Karlstadt party. Capito wrote to Zwingli: "Hans Denck, a cunning and inconstant man, causes disorder here; with great boldness and presumption he subjects all the preachers to ridicule."[164]

During these days Capito had several guests in his home: first, two theologians, Martin Cellarius[165] and Ludwig Haetzer,[166] both ex-

157 *Grund und Ursach der Neuerungen in der Gemeine zu Strassburg* (Strasbourg, Dec. 26, 1524).

158 Keller asserted that Capito was more an Anabaptist than a Lutheran or Zwinglian: *Ein Apostel,* 148, 153-58.

159 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (Dec. 31, 1524): *Zw. Werke* VIII, 280.

160 A. Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg* (Amsterdam, 1905) 9.

161 E.g., the brothers Clemens and Jörg Ziegler: Gerbert, *op. cit.,* 15, 49.

162 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (Feb. 6, 1525): *Zw. Werke* VIII, 302.

163 Wilbur misrepresented Denck as a pioneer of the Unitarians: E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* (Cambridge, 1946) 25-29.

164 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (Dec. 10, 1525): *Zw. Werke* VIII, 800. Keller translated: "Denck geniesst das grösste Vertrauen, und ringsumher fallen ihm die Diener des Wortes zu," *Ein Apostel,* 159.

165 Had to leave Wittenberg because of his relation to Marcus Stübner, one of the Zwickau Prophets.

166 Was expelled from Zurich because of his relation to the Anabaptists, but he stated publicly that he never had belonged to the Anabaptists: Preface of *Vom Sacrament der danck-sagung* (Feb. 1526).

pelled from their home countries; second, the faithful Swiss Anabaptist leader, Michael Sattler. Denck was invited by Capito to have a discussion with these theologians about Denck's second book, which dealt with his teaching on election and redemption. After many discussions Cellarius praised himself for having convinced Denck of his errors.[167]

Bucer, however, did not like Denck's presence in Strasbourg and challenged him to a public disputation on the basis of his booklet *Vom Gesetz Gottes*.[168] From Capito we have a report about this disputation:

> The 22nd of this month we had a disputation with Hans Denck. He interpreted his book in the most cunning way. He asserted, he denied, he affirmed and he repudiated. To us it was sufficient indeed to hear him confess that in the main points he did not disagree with us, while actually he differs very much from us. He has disturbed our church terribly. His seemingly unselfish life, the dexterity of his mind, his decent way of acting, have astonishingly captivated the people. . . . He was commanded to leave. Yesterday he went. He left some commotion behind, but the remaining matters will easily be settled with diligence and care. There is, however, something in those people which I cannot justify; they emphatically want to appear fighting for the Scriptures, which we profess as a testimony to the spiritual doctrine which is given to us.[169]

We notice the influence of Karlstadt here, who taught that the doctrines were given objectively in the Scriptures and subjectively in the heart of the believer.[170] Heberle wrongly ascribed these concepts to the influence of Hans Denck.[171] Denck was not interested in subjective and objective doctrines but in obedience to Christ, which would result in a Christian life. In accordance with all other Anabaptists, Hans Denck preached a regenerated Christianity.

However short Denck's stay in Strasbourg may have been, it was very decisive for the Anabaptist movement. As we have seen, Sattler was also there. It is significant to notice that Sattler was favored by the Reformers and that Denck was repudiated. Bucer wrote:

> Michael Sattler was a dear friend of God, although he was a leading man of the Anabaptists. He only rejected paedobaptism by which people think to achieve salvation, for only by faith one is saved.

167 See p. 243, *supra;* letter of Capito to Zwingli (Aug. 18, 1527): *Zw. Werke* IX, 193.

168 *Getreue Warnung,* fol. B VII.

169 Capito to Zwingli, Dec. 26, 1526: *Zw. Werke* VIII, 563 f.

170 Barge, *op. cit.,* II, 51.

171 U. Heberle, "W. Capito's Verhältnis zum Anabaptismus," *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie* (1857) 286-93.

> Therefore he undoubtedly was a martyr of Christ. About redemption, upon which depends everything, we have not found such errors with him as with Denck.[172]

We see that a distinction was made between these two Anabaptist leaders. Sebastian Franck's description is clearer. He arrived in Strasbourg in the autumn of 1529 and came into close contact with Anabaptist circles. About 1530 Franck wrote as follows:

> Some have a high estimation for the Scriptures and consider it as the Word of God; others say when we have books, then we do not yet have Christ, for we must be taught by God directly. This was the teaching of Denck, also of Haetzer and Müntzer.[173]

Here we touch upon the basic difference between the two Anabaptist groups, in which one group of the Anabaptists sided with the Reformers while the other group sided with Thomas Müntzer.[174] We shall have to come back to this basic difference later on; here only the various consequences of this basic difference ought to be mentioned. Again we follow Franck in his description:

> Some among them, only a few, assert one shall not swear, . . . a Christian is not allowed to be in the government, . . . Christians have the ban and not the sword among them, . . . they are not allowed to fight nor to kill, . . . these opinions Sattler and his followers had, who were still few. The others and almost all of them consider it right to take an oath for the truth or when love or faith requires. This opinion Hans Denck had, . . . these believe that a government can be a Christian one, when it acts according to the will of God. They also approve self-defense and war, when necessity and obedience require.[175]

The doctrines of Sattler and his followers, the "Schweizer Brüder," were summarized in the Schleitheim Confession[176] within two months after the banishment of Hans Denck. Professor Blanke has already shown that these articles must have been directed against other Anabaptists.[177] In this connection we see that they were intended to oppose the rise of the followers of Hans Denck, the so-called free Anabaptists, who acted from "the freedom of the spirit," as Sattler puts it.[178] The Swiss Brethren separated themselves from the "for-

172 *Getreue Warnung*, fol. C iii. See further the letters of Capito to Council of Horb, May 31, 1527; and to the brethren in Horb: publ. by Heberle, *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* (1851) 308-10.

173 S. Franck, "Von Widerteüffern oder Teüffern," *Chronica* (Strasbourg, 1531) III, 195.

174 Müntzer was not an Anabaptist: "Er soll noch einen grossen Anhang heymlicher jünger in Thüringen haben, die sind nicht Täufer, hat auch selbst nicht widertäuft." *Ibid.*, 138.

175 *Ibid.*, 197.

176 Ed. by B. Jenny, *Das Schleitheimer Täuferbekenntnis* 1527 (Thayngen, 1951).

177 F. Blanke, "Beobachtungen zum ältesten Täuferbekenntnis," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (1940) 242-49.

178 Jenny, *op. cit.*, 10.

eigners,"[179] who were, according to Franck, by far in the majority in and around Strasbourg.[180]

On Christmas Day of 1526 Denck left Strasbourg and went down the Rhine in the direction of the Palatinate. As a wandering evangelist Denck visited the various villages in the Rhine Valley. We happen to know something about the methods of these wandering Anabaptist preachers. When they arrived at a village they first visited the pastor and asked him to discuss religious matters with them. When it came to a disagreement they requested a public disputation, which was usually refused.[181] Then these Anabaptist preachers felt free to spread the Gospel among the people.

Now we find Denck some days after Epiphany (about January 9, 1527) in a discussion with Nikolaus Thomae Sigelsbach, the pastor of Bergzabern.[182] Several days were spent in discussion, in which Denck showed his indignation about his treatment in Strasbourg. Denck was not allowed to have a public disputation, which made him angry. "It is not right to spare false prophets" (Bucer and Capito), he exclaimed; "you are afraid of the truth." Denck was allowed to have a discussion with the Jews in Bergzabern. For three days he dealt with them about the law and many good things came to the fore, but no converts to Christ were made. Denck apologized for having been angry, after which he and Nikolaus Thomae departed as friends.[183] The latter was very much impressed by Denck's teaching on redemption and pondered over the various Scripture passages which Denck had given him.[184] He wrote an extensive letter to Oecolampadius for help, but five months later he still had no answer from Basel.[185]

But Denck had a wonderful opportunity in the next village, Landau, some eight miles north of Bergzabern. The pastor, Johann Bader (*ca.* 1470-1545), had worked out a reformation in his church quite independently since 1525.[186] Also on the matter of baptism he had tried to define his own opinion. Hubmaier's book *Vom christlichen Tauf der Gläubigen* (1525) had deeply impressed him. After reading this book he was willing to follow the Anabaptists "on all

179 *Ibid.*, 9.

180 J. Horsch incorrectly considers Denck as the leader of a small group: *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, 1950) 157.

181 J. Bader, *Brüderliche Warnung* (1527) fol. A V.

182 40 miles north of Strasbourg.

183 Letter of Nikolaus Thomae to Oecolampadius (April 1, 1527): Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 51-55.

184 See note 14.

185 Letter of Nikolaus Thomae to Konrad Humbert (Sept. 13, 1527): Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 97.

186 H. P. Gelbert, *Magister Johann Baders Leben und Schriften* (Neustadt a.d.H., 1861) 175-90.

fours." Zwingli's book on baptism, however, had cooled his enthusiasm, but still he could not get rid of the problem. Many prominent persons of Landau were with him against the baptism of infants, although rebaptism seemed horrible to them.[187]

Bader published an extensive book (230 pages) about his private discussions with a certain Anabaptist and with Hans Denck (Jan. 20, 1527), from whom he also published a written statement concerning baptism. Here we have the first evidence of Denck's teaching on baptism. The basis of a genuine baptism was for Denck the personal and oral confession of faith, which it was impossible to require of an infant.

A group of Anabaptists had just been formed in Landau by the unknown Anabaptist mentioned above. Denck strengthened them in the faith;[188] several had to appear before the council one year later. After 1530 Caspar Schwenckfeld attached these believers to himself, and even Bader became a faithful friend of Schwenckfeld.[189]

Around the beginning of February 1527 Denck entered the city of Worms, where Luther had had to appear before the imperial diet in 1521. Since that time the interest for a reformation had been awakened also in Worms, but the bishop, Henry IV, prevented every attempt. No wonder that radical tendencies were evoked. Under the influence of the Peasants' War the Reformation was introduced in Worms (May 1525). Besides the two former pastors, Hilarius and Jacob Kautz, two Lutheran pastors were appointed.[190] Jacob Kautz (*ca.* 1500-*ca.* 35) was still not satisfied with the reforms in Worms and sought contact with more radical reformers. When Denck arrived he had already persuaded Hilarius to do away with the baptism of infants (Jan. 15),[191] which may have been due to the influence of Müntzer or Karlstadt.

About the same time, Ludwig Haetzer took refuge in Worms. When he met Denck in this city, he saw it as a guidance of God. In Strasbourg Denck had already assisted Haetzer in the translation of Isaiah; now the opportunity was open to translate all the Prophets.[192] In two months a very accurate translation of the Old Testament Prophets was made, the first German translation from the Hebrew.[193] In three years twelve different editions came out, the first of which

187 Bader, *op. cit.*, fol. B iii.

188 Bader, *op. cit.*, fol. M i.

189 M. Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer* IV (Gütersloh, 1951) 429-33.

190 Heberle, "Hans Denck," 838; viz., Ulrich Preu and Johannes Freiherr.

191 F. L. Weis, *Ludwig Hetzer* (Dorchester, 1930) 146.

192 "Vorrede zu der Wormser Prophetenübersetzung" (April 3, 1527) in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 59.

193 *Alle Propheten nach hebräischer Sprache verdeutscht von Ludwig Haetzer und J. Denk* (April 13, 1527).

was reprinted ten times within two years.[194] It is still a matter of discussion how much the Zurich Bible (1529) and the Lutheran Bible (1534) depended on this translation, but it is certain that it was used by the translators of these Bibles.[195]

Not only Haetzer but also Kautz was won for the Anabaptist principles.[196] There is no evidence of an Anabaptist congregation in Worms before Denck's coming, as Keller supposed and as is generally accepted.[197] By these three leading men the Anabaptist movement was spread very quickly along the Rhine. Already in April Capito was complaining about the rapid increase of the Anabaptist movement in the Rhine Valley.[198]

Denck probably was mainly involved in literary activities, while Haetzer and Kautz were very good preachers.[199] Probably in this time the fifth and last book of Denck was written. It became his best piece of work, dealing with the culmination of the Christian life, i.e., true love.[200] The second part of this book was devoted to baptism, oath-taking, Christian government, and war. Keller considers this part as not in harmony with Denck's teaching, but this consideration is based on his presuppositions rather than on the sources.[201]

The Anabaptist movement in Worms reached its culmination at Pentecost (June 9, 1527), when Kautz posted his seven theses on the cloister of the Cathedral Church.[202] Many citizens, peasants, and countrymen read these articles, because it was at the beginning of the annual market. Thursday morning, from six o'clock in the morning, Kautz, Haetzer, and Denck were openly defending these theses on the market place.[203] They contain the concepts of Denck about the Scriptures, the sacraments, and redemption. Kautz's teachings had changed since Denck's arrival. There was no more the protest against civil government and higher classes[204]—the same change which we noticed with Hans Hut after his contact with Denck.

Soon after this event all four pastors were dismissed and by public consensus the Reformation was renounced.[205] Several Anabaptists came to Strasbourg; Capito wrote to Zwingli about the confusion created by these adherents of Denck and Haetzer.[206] Decrees against

194 W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten* III (Kassel, 1952) 83-86.
195 Letter of Luther to Wenzeslaus Link (May 4, 1527); Introduction to Zurich Bible: Keller, *Ein Apostel,* 212-13.
196 Krebs, *op. cit.,* 455.
197 Keller, *ibid.,* 201; Weis, *op. cit.,* 147.
198 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (April 8, 1527): *Zw. Werke,* LX, 87.
199 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (July 7, 1527): *ibid.,* 168.
200 *Von der wahren Liebe* (1527, republished 1888).
201 Keller, *Ein Apostel,* 244.
202 Ed. by Krebs, *op. cit.,* 113-14.
203 Letter of W. von Affenstein to Ludwig V (June 13, 1527): Krebs, *op. cit.,* 115.
204 Excerpts by J. Hast, *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* (Münster, 1836) 219 f.
205 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (July 7, 1527): *Zw. Werke,* IX, 167-168.
206 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (July 7, 9, 1527): *ibid.,* 167, 172.

the Anabaptists were issued in Strasbourg (June 26)[207] as well as in Basel (July 6).[208] The Strasbourg preachers sent a special warning to the church in Worms in which they refuted each article of Kautz;[209] also a Catholic priest, Johann Cochlaeus, wrote a refutation.[210] All these protests had the desired result, for Ludwig V, Elector of the Palatinate, took severe measures. Many farmers were imprisoned and tortured, but they persisted in "confessing Christ and His baptism."[211]

Denck continued his work in the environs of Basel.[212] Then in the first days of August 1527, he appeared in the city and canton of Zurich visiting the Anabaptists. His plan was to go via Schaffhausen and Constance to Augsburg. The Zurich Council, which heard of these plans, immediately warned Constance and Augsburg, for Denck was considered the main leader.[213] Bucer called him "the pope of the Anabaptists";[214] Capito named him "the duke of this blasphemy";[215] Rhegius wrote about him as "the abbot of the Anabaptists";[216] Sebastian Franck[217] and Berthold Haller[218] used similar expressions. This position among the South German Anabaptists was not due to a fine organizing talent nor to a restless activity, but to Denck's teaching. His thinking about theological problems provided the Anabaptists with good arguments against those of the clergy.

THE LAST MONTHS OF DENCK'S LIFE

Two important events during the last months of Denck's life have still to be clarified. First, the "Martyrs' Synod," and second Denck's "recantation." The fiction of the "Martyrs' Synod" gradually[219] developed from Keller's theory of the Old Christian congregations, which were supposed to act through synods and apostles contrary to the church with its dogma and clergy. Historically, all that happened was that an agreement between Hut and Denck took place in the presence of the Augsburg congregation.

Above we have seen that the Anabaptist congregation in Augsburg was started in February 1527.[220] Through the influence of Lan-

207 Gerbert, *op. cit.*, 135.
208 Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, 18.
209 *Getreue Warnung der Prediger des Evangelii zu Strassburg* (July 2, 1527).
210 J. Cochlaeus, *Articuli aliquot, a Jacobo Kautio Oecolampadiano . . . editi, reprobati* (1527).
211 Letter of Capito to Zwingli (Sept. 24, 1527): *Zw. Werke* IX, 220.
212 "Augustinus Marius' Vorrede," in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 429.
213 Letter of Zurich to Augsburg and Constance (Aug. 10, 1527): v. Muralt, *op. cit.*, 255.
214 Letter of Bucer to Zwingli (Aug. 13, 1527): *Zw. Werke*, IX, 184.
215 See note 98.
216 Rhegius, *Wider den newen Taufforden* (Augsburg, 1527) fol. M II.
217 "Der Täufer Bischof": *Chronica*, III, 158.
218 Letter of Haller to Zwingli (Dec. 2, 1527): *Zw. Werke* IX, 318: "catabaptistarum Apollo."
219 Keller, *Ein Apostel*, 218; *Die Reformation*, 426; *Johann von Staupitz*, 325.
220 See p. 247, *supra*.

genmantel and the activity of Dachser and Salminger a rather quick development took place. Several members were independent artisans or councilors,[221] so that the social position among them was rather good. Very soon several Anabaptist refugees came to Augsburg, which rather soon became the center of the South German Anabaptists. For the support of the refugees a special fund was raised.[222] Difficulties arose, however, between the refugees and the members of the Augsburg congregation, caused by the differences in the teachings of Hut and Denck. Several times we read about discussions; once Jacob Dachser was almost expelled because of his protest against the prophecies and the queer opinions of the refugees,[223] who were apparently largely followers of Hut.

In August 1527 the concourse of refugees, members and leaders, increased so much[224] that they could no longer meet in the homes of the members. They gathered in gardens enclosed by walls and soon got the name "Gartenbrüder."[225] A Catholic author mentions as the total number of the Anabaptists present in Augsburg at that time 1100.[226] This anonymous author, who lived more than a century later, is not at all reliable; he scarcely knows the difference between Lutherans and Anabaptists and depicts them all as sects. The chronicler Sender[227] adopted this number of 1100 and Keller extended this to "the Anabaptist congregation in Augsburg in the year 1527."[228] It may be that a statement of Hut before the council has encouraged the use of this number. He said that he could not mention all the Anabaptists, he knew a thousand of them, but in Augsburg not many.[229]

Usually only small numbers are mentioned. One of the Anabaptists spoke about a meeting where "many" were present, that was about 30 people.[230] After the "Martyrs' Synod" only five were banished from Augsburg[231] and at Easter of 1528, when the congregation was at its largest, only 51 from outside and 43 from Augsburg itself had to appear before the Council.[232] Only one statement mentions a larger number. Marx Mayr said "that they often came together by the hundreds." From the minutes of the Council we know that many

221 Roth, *Z. Schw. N.* XXVII (1900) 10-33.
222 Roth, *Augsburgs Ref.-Geschichte* II, 399.
223 Roth, *Z. Schw. N.* (1901) 142.
224 Perhaps connected with general mandate of Ferdinand I against all evangelicals (Aug. 20, 1527.
225 Another explanation of the name is that it really was "Gartbrüder," from "gartenn" that is, to wander.
226 *Historica relatio de ortu et progressu haeresium in Germania* (Ingolstadt, 1654) 25.
227 Cl. Sender, *Chronik,* ed. by Roth (Augsburg, 1894) 186.
228 Keller, *Ein Apostel,* 102.
229 Roth, *Z. Schw. N.* (1901) 225.
230 *Ibid.,* (1900) 28.
231 *Ibid.* (1900) 10-29.
232 *Ibid.* (1901) 72.

citizens went to see these "Gartenbrüder," which was the reason that the Anabaptists were discovered. These citizens were, however, not members of the Anabaptist congregations. A later report of March 7, 1528, in a letter from Joachim Helm in Augsburg to Sebastian Weiss in Zerbst complaining about the heresies in Augsburg at that time claims that "when an Anabaptist or Zwinglian preaches, there are about 16,000 in the audience, but when the other doctors preach, there are scarcely six or seven persons."[233]

In the last days of August 1527 both Hut and Denck were in Augsburg.[234] About 60 people were present when they preached about redemption, the Lord's Supper, and the urgent need for conversion. Hans Hut motivated the urgent need for conversion by his prediction of Christ's coming within two and a half years from August 1527. About this eschatological expectation a controversy arose and the meeting had to be dismissed without having achieved a solution to the problem. Three or four days later Hut and Denck came in during the meeting and announced the agreement they had achieved. Hut called this meeting a *concilium*[235] and sent a letter to the brethren outside Augsburg about the agreement. Whenever a brother left on a missionary journey he would take a copy of this letter with him. In this letter[236] Hut admonished all those who were initiated into the secrets of the kingdom not to take offense at other children of God who only proclaim a life according to Christ. With the congregation of Augsburg he had made the agreement not to preach about judgment, the end of the world, the resurrection, and about other eschatological subjects, unless he was requested to do so. Therefore all the brethren were admonished to act in the same spirit and to be steadfast in unity and love. There is no evidence for the supposition that this "Martyrs' Synod" became a great disappointment to Denck.[237] There is no indication of any personal difficulties between Hans Denck and Hans Hut; nor is there any unfavorable statement about eschatological expectations in Denck's so-called recantation, which will be studied in the next section. Shortly after the *concilium* in Augsburg, Denck was with Haetzer in Nuremberg.[238]

233 *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* II (1869) 131 f.

234 The following from sources ed. by Paul Wappler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen* (Jena, 1913) 322-35; Meyer, *op. cit.*, 227, 240, 242.

235 That it was no synod follows also from Hut's statement: "Hans Denck ist zweimal bei uns gewesen und hat zusammen mit mir gelehrt."

236 U. Rhegius, *Ein sendbrief Hans Huthen* (Augsburg, 1528), ed. by Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) 12.

237 No social and revolutionary tendencies had to be subdued as Keller suggested: *Ein Apostel*, 222.

238 According to Hans Schlaffer: *ibid.*, 118.

In the beginning of September we find them together with Hans Beckenknecht and Wilhelm Reublin in Ulm.[239] Sometime later Denck went on his way in the direction of Basel, where he was to meet an untimely death.[240]

As the last chords of a piece of music are of decisive importance, so also Denck's last statements deserve consideration. Oecolampadius, the Reformer of Basel, tried to give the impression that the great Anabaptist leader finally gave up his convictions. In this Oecolampadius succeeded very well, because none of the later historians ever doubted his assertions concerning Hans Denck. Let us first consider Denck's letter to Oecolampadius,[241] in which Denck applies for a refuge in Basel.

> I have lived so much in exile that I wish I could live always securely in some permanent place, God willing. With strangers it is not possible because I am unable to do almost any kind of work; with friends and acquaintances it is impossible because of their suspicion that I am favoring sects and creating perverse dogmas. God is my witness, that I only desire the welfare of one sect, which is the church of the saints, wherever it may be; for I do not believe that they only are among us; I even do not assert that they are Christians, when you take faith in its strictest sense; however much I love that zeal for correct living—a zeal which I myself know very well—yet I experience daily more and more that it is not sufficient to be called a Christian, when that knowledge which Paul[242] requires of his friends is lacking. I do not deny that in dogmatics on the one side I have erred and still am liable to err and on the other side I have spoken in such a way that I would better have been silent. I am perfectly willing to confess that publicly if it is worth while; that means, if it does more good than harm. . . . Exile is hard and difficult for me, but more difficult is the fact that the results and the fruits do not answer to my zeal. No other fruit do I desire (the Lord knows) but that as many as possible glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ with one heart and mouth, either circumcised or baptized or neither. I disagree by far with those who restrict the kingdom too much to the ceremonies and to the elements of the world, whosoever they may be; although I cannot deny that I also held such opinions for some time. . . . It is true that I flee exile, but in the confidence that I will not regret this letter —because I could as well not flee—unless you want to take advantage (which be far from you) of this letter to your own glory and to the affliction of others.

Denck was allowed to enter Basel, and took up his residence in the home of the Dutchman Bentinus, a proofreader for the printer

239 Letter of Ulm to Augsburg (Sept. 16, 1527): Keller, *Ein Apostel*, p. 221.

240 Letter of Augsburg to Strassburg (Sept. 20, 1527): T. W. Röhrich, *Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie* (1860) 32.

241 Letter of Denck to Oecolampadius (autumn 1527): Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 102.

242 Rom. 10:2.

Cratander.[243] Oecolampadius, however, wanted a public statement from Denck about his faith and about those points where he had failed. Denck thereupon wrote the well-known protest and confession, which was published in 1529 under the title *Hans Dencken Widerruf,* probably by Oecolampadius.[244] Very soon after the drawing up of this protest Denck was snatched away by the plague (*ca.* Nov. 15, 1527).[245] Oecolampadius wrote to his friends that Denck had been converted on his deathbed.[246] When one of his friends asked him if this were really true, Oecolampadius answered: "Yes, that is no vain rumor. I have his manuscript and perhaps, if his followers deny it, I will publish it sometime, although it is not so very pure."[247]

In ten points Denck set forth his ideas, which do not show any change from his previous position. About baptism, for instance, he writes:

> Baptism is an enrollment in the church of believers; not that they are all believers who are baptized, but that we consider them as much as possible as believers. The baptism of infants is against the command of Christ, because we cannot see who is a Jacob and who an Esau, which a servant of Christ ought to examine first of all.

Only one passage occurs which looks like a recantation:

> What I have done, that is past; what I will do, will be of no harm to anyone. The zeal for the house of the Lord has sent me out and has called my mind home. To do right in the house of God is a duty to everyone but to bring the message is not commanded to everyone, etc. etc.

Keller had a copy of this recantation in which this passage was inserted in a different place.[248] It does not fit very well in the context; the words "etc. etc.," often used by contemporary writers, are never used by Denck elsewhere. Very likely this passage was not written by Hans Denck. It may have been written by Oecolampadius himself.[249]

It is clear from the preceding letter to Oecolampadius that Denck was personally disappointed. There is, however, no reason to

243 Letter of Erasmus to Baysius (March 1, 1528); Nachruf Cratanders: ed. by Keller, *Staupitz,* 418.

244 Ed. by Keller, *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* VII (1898) 231-43.

245 See note 134.

246 Letter of Oecolampadius to Farel (Nov. 11, 1527) in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 111-112. Letter of Haller to Zwingli (Dec. 2, 1527) in *Zw. Werke,* IX, 318.

247 Letter of Oecolampadius to Ludwig (Nov. 9, 1528) in Staehelin, *Briefe und Akten* II, 251.

248 Keller, *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* VII (1898) 241.

249 Possibly the first to suggest that Denck's recantation was not such at all was G. G. Roehrich, *Essai sur la vie, les écrits, et la doctrine de l'Anabaptiste Jean Denk* (Strasbourg, 1853) 31. Keller substantiates this with his interesting evidence from Oecolampadius himself in a letter to a friend (Keller, *op. cit.,* 231 f.).

suppose that he was disappointed in the development of the Anabaptist movement, which was not at all as extravagant as many scholars depicted.[250] Denck's disappointment was rather about the gap between the churches of the Reformers and those of the Anabaptists, between the freedom of the believers' church and the restricting power of dogmatic statements in the Lutheran churches. In this letter Denck had written:

> However much it is appropriate to a friendship, especially a Christian one, to have the same feeling, it still seems to me an utterly erroneous law, that neither is free to disagree with the other, unless it is about such a matter as cannot and must not be tolerated.[251]

250 The following statement of Hagen has been repeated by almost every writer on Denck: "Denk war zu geistreich, als dass er im Ernste den wiedertäuferischen Ideen gehuldigt hätte; er scheint diese Sekten nur benutzt zu haben.": K. Hagen, *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse* II (Erlangen, 1841-44) 276.

251 See note 132.

JOSEPH FUNK, EARLY MENNONITE PRINTER AND PUBLISHER

(With a Bibliography)

Irvin B. Horst

The life and work of Joseph Funk, 1778-1862, fall within the middle period of American Mennonite history, the years between the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. During this period Mennonites continued to read in German and undertook little creative work in the fields of writing and publishing. Their religious literature, for the most part, was replenished by reprints of books brought from Europe, although in the case of songbooks both Franconia and Lancaster, the main settlements in Pennsylvania, made new compilations in German, in 1803 and 1804, respectively. Mennonites in Pennsylvania, it appears, never had a printer among their number. Instead they relied upon local printing shops at Ephrata, Germantown, and Lancaster which catered to the various German-speaking elements in the country. The noted Christopher Saur of Germantown, of the Church of the Brethren, printed many of their books before 1780.

The first Mennonite activities in the field of printing and publishing arose near the middle of the 19th century in Ontario and Virginia, both daughter colonies of Pennsylvania Mennonites. In both instances the ventures were private, but many of the books printed were closely related to the faith and practices of Mennonites. The printery in Ontario, founded in 1835 by Heinrich Peterson with Mennonite help and taken over by Heinrich Eby ca. 1840 at Berlin (now Kitchener) had very close connections with the church. Benjamin Eby, who was the father of Heinrich and bishop of the Mennonites in the province, had a hand in the enterprise. Among other books of Mennonite interest his own primers and the successful work on Mennonite history and faith, *Kurzgefasste Kirchen-Geschichte und Glaubenslehre,* 1841, were printed here. In Virginia Funk began his "printing office" primarily to meet the growing demand for his album of religious music, the *Harmonia Sacra,* as it was known after the fourth edition. This collection of "genuine church music" was only indirectly related to Mennonite church life. In general Funk's connections were not as close as Eby's, but as an author he had been asked as early as 1837 to make a new translation of the Thirty-Three Articles[1], and among the books he was to publish, the Mennonite ones, next to the *Harmonia,* were the most important.

1 Joseph Funk, *The Confession of Faith, of the Christians Known by the Name of Mennonites* (Winchester, 1837) 458.

However, the principal distinction between Eby in Ontario and Funk in Virginia was one of language. The former stayed by the German, while the latter worked solely in English. Funk was among the first in Mennonite circles to take the English language for granted and to accept it as a medium of communication.[2]

Funk's pioneer work and its significance has not been overlooked by historians. His place in the history of Rockingham County, Virginia, has been treated by John W. Wayland.[3] Dr. Wayland has also described the role of Funk in the development of religious music in the South[4], a subject which George P. Jackson also studied more recently.[5] Funk's contribution to the Mennonite Church as the "founder of Mennonite publication work" has been told by John A. Hostetler.[6] His place in Virginia Mennonite history remains to be recorded, but this we may expect from H. A. Brunk in his forthcoming account of Mennonites in Virginia. An aspect of Funk's influence which deserves more careful study than it has received is his contribution to Mennonite church music.

The recent decision of the Mennonite Publication Board of the Mennonite Church to compile a history of Mennonite publishing efforts, a study now in progress in the hands of John A. Hostetler, raised further inquiry about the nature and scope of Funk's printing and publishing activities at Singers Glen, Virginia. This article and bibliography were undertaken in this connection. No attempt is made here to examine directly the larger subject of Funk's contribution beyond Mennonite circles, particularly his considerable influence on religious music in Virginia and the South. That subject is indeed a fascinating one, but already much has been written about it, and it falls outside the purpose of this study.

The three activities—writing, printing, and publishing—were closely interwoven strands in Funk's busy life in the loom house at Singers Glen. In this article we shall endeavor to examine each one separately. Bookbinding was also a phase of his enterprise worthy of treatment. The chief sources of the data found here are the attached bibliography and a series of letters, 28 in number, which Funk wrote during the years 1837 to 1848.[7] We are fortunate to possess these letters today, for they cover the period when the printing office was in

2 For the data used in these preliminary paragraphs see the relevant years in Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature* (Goshen, Indiana, 1929).

3 John W. Wayland, *A History of Rockingham County, Virginia* (Dayton, 1912); also Wayland, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville, 1907).

4 Wayland, "Joseph Funk,—Father of Song in Northern Virginia," *The Pennsylvania-German*, October, 1911; reprinted as pamphlet by Ruebush-Kieffer Co., Dayton, Va., n.d.

5 George P. Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933).

6 John A. Hostetler, "Joseph Funk: Founder of Mennonite Publication Work, 1847," *Gospel Herald*, December 23, 1947.

7 MS correspondence, Joseph Funk to Mary Funk Kieffer and John Kieffer, Miami, Mis-

the planning stage. Some preliminary statements about Funk's early life are included in an attempt to further clarify this stage of his career.

EARLY LIFE

Only scant information exists about Funk's parental home and his early life. He was born April 6, 1778, likely in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the eleventh in a family of thirteen children.[8] Some secondary sources give March 9, 1777, as his birth date, but this is incorrect, even though it for some unexplained reason appears on his grave marker. His father, Henry Funk, the progenitor of the Virginia Funks, migrated to Virginia about 1780 and settled in Rockingham County, about eight miles northwest of Harrisonburg[9]. It was in this area that the first permanent colony of Mennonites in Virginia was established. Henry Funk appears to have been a member of this group and to have been its first minister.[10]

The father of this Virginia pioneer, the grandfather of Joseph, was "Heinrich Funck," the early bishop and leader of the Franconia settlement in Pennsylvania. Grandfather Funk, too, had been a man of books. He had written the first published work of Mennonite authorship in America, *Ein Spiegel der Taufe,* 1744, and had helped to oversee the German translation of Van Braght's *Martyr's Mirror* at Ephrata in 1748. His *Eine Restitution,* 1763, appeared posthumously. The younger Henry and his brother, Christian, were ordained ministers in the Mennonite church in the Franconia district. Their church relationships, however, came under a cloud about 1778 when they expressed their sympathies with the seceding American colonies.[11] Both men were "silenced" or deposed of their ministerial office. No doubt this controversy played a part in Henry's decision to move south. In the daughter colony Henry Funk was recognized as a minister and appears to have served without any difficulty. His large family, for the most part, embraced the Mennonite faith. His oldest son, Jacob, 1761-1817, was a Mennonite minister in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, and his youngest son, Daniel, 1781-1859, a minister and bishop in Logan County, Ohio.[12] His son, Joseph, the

souri, December 24, 1837, to February 25, 1848; 28 letters in possession of J. K. Ruebush, Harrisonburg, Virginia.

8 The family record which Joseph Funk kept is to be found on several flyleaves preliminary to the title-page of a copy of Heinrich Funck, *Eine Restitution,* Philadelphia, 1763, now in the library of JKR.

9 A. J. Fretz, *A Brief History of Bishop Henry Funck and Other Funk Pioneers* (Elkhart, 1899) 139-142; *Minutes of the Virginia Mennonite Conference* (n.p., 1950) p. viii. In Fretz the date of migration to Virginia is given as 1786, while in the *Minutes* it is 1775.

10 *Minutes,* pp. viii, xvi.

11 For an account of the Funkite controversy and schism see the article under this name in *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* II (Scottdale, Pa., 1956); also J. C. Wenger, *History of the Mennonites of Franconia Conference* (Telford, 1937) 345-352; and Fretz, *A Brief History,* 139-140.

12 Fretz, *A Brief History,* 142 ff.

subject of this study, was a staunch lay supporter of the Mennonite church.

The facts concerning the first and second marriage of Joseph Funk and his family of fourteen children are well established and need not be recounted here. He died on December 24, 1862, at the advanced age of 84 years and was buried at Singers Glen.

John F. Funk, 1835-1930, the well-known Mennonite leader and publisher at Elkhart, Indiana, was a member of this same Funk family, but he was not close kin to Joseph. Joseph stood in the third generation, while John F. stood in the fifth. Joseph was a first cousin of John F.'s grandfather.[13]

FUNK AS AUTHOR

As an author Funk was chiefly a compiler and a translator. His compilations were in the field of religious music. The *Harmonia Sacra,* his principal work, represents a noteworthy collection of church music both in terms of variety and a high spiritual quality. It went successfully through ten editions during his lifetime, and it is still in use today for community singing in the Shenandoah Valley. *A Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs* was likely also a compilation of his.[14] From a literary standpoint one should not overlook the introductions to his music compilations. Jackson estimates his preface to the *Harmonia* to be "the best written, most dignified, cogent, and concise one in any of the southern [music] books.[15]" Funk, with his sons, also founded and edited a periodical, *The Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend.* It began during the summer of 1859 "at the earnest request of a number of music teachers," including Aldine Kieffer and Ephraim Ruebush.[16] Since by this year Funk was in the eighties one questions his share in the writing and editorial work, but he would not have been true to his past had he not provided much of the spirit and leadership.

As a translator Funk's services were given for the Mennonite Church and its cause. The Thirty-Three Articles, along with the reflections of Peter Burkholder and other material, which he translated from the German into the English in 1837, represented no small stint of labor. In 1851, again upon the request of the church, he translated his grandfather's *Ein Spiegel der Taufe* into English.[17]

13 *Ibid.,* 553.

14 Funk was a member of the committee which compiled this hymnbook. The other members were Joseph Wenger and David Hartman. The tunes follow those of the *Harmonia.*

15 Jackson, *White Spirituals,* 47.

16 Aldine Kieffer, "Reminiscences," *Musical Million,* XXI (January, 1890) 8.

17 In *The Reviewer Reviewed* (Mountain Valley, Va., 1857) 5, Funk states, "The writer of this was called on, by the Church, to translate it [*Ein Spiegel*] into the English language; and to which he consented, and completed the translation in 1851."

Funk wrote fluently in English, although he had German upbringing. When his 1851 translation involved him in controversy he was able to reply in English with a 309-page defense, *The Reviewer Reviewed,* 1857. If one remembers that this work appeared when Funk was almost eighty years of age one respects both the quality and the size of the undertaking. Today it seems very much dated and prolix, but it was needed in the 1850's, especially in Virginia.

FUNK AS PRINTER

In 1847 Funk with his sons established a printing, bookbinding, and publishing firm at Singers Glen (Mountain Valley until March, 1860), twelve miles northwest of Harrisonburg, Virginia, under the name of Joseph Funk & Sons. The project was in Funk's mind as early as 1838 when he began to think about a third edition of the *Harmonia.* He had solicited the assistance of Mr. Hollis, his printer at Winchester, especially to train his son Joseph in the printing trade.[18] As it turned out, Funk broke off his relations with Hollis and had the third edition printed in 1842 at Harrisonburg by Henry Wartmann. The project became more promising in 1846 when plans were made for the fourth edition. By this date his son Solomon was completing an apprenticeship under Wartmann in order to groom himself for the new venture.[19] In March, 1847, Funk reports that another son, John, a carpenter by trade, was engaged "to cover the loom or spring house, and build a small end to the loom house part, as we intend to convert it to a printing establishment."[20] About the same time a printing press was purchased at Richmond.[21] Printing operations likely began during the summer, for on October 24, 1847, Funk reported the completion of "the fourth edition of our Music."[22] His son Solomon was the chief printer, assisted by another son, Benjamin. The size of the edition was 5,000 copies.[23]

The printing office was established to manufacture new editions of the *Harmonia,* but this alone could not provide full-time operation of the press. In 1848 Funk began to solicit custom printing and bookbinding. He advertised "to execute all kinds of book printing (including music), also book binding.[24]" The enterprise began to thrive; the peak years were reached in 1853 and 1857 when seven items were printed both years. For the 15-year period, 1847-62, while

18 MS correspondence, Joseph Funk to Mary Funk Kieffer and John Kieffer, September 12, 1838.
19 *Ibid.,* July 3, 1846; also Kieffer, *loc. cit.,* XX (March, 1889) 40.
20 *Ibid.,* March 26, 1847.
21 *Ibid.*
22 *Ibid.,* October 24, 1847.
23 Kieffer, *loc cit.,* XX, 4, April 1889) 56.
24 See advertisement appended to Sturm's *Reflections.*

the father was associated with the office, an average of somewhat better than three items per year were run off, a total of 49 items.

Among these 49 items printed by Funk & Sons those pertaining to music rank highest in number: fourteen books and a periodical. It was the staple of the undertaking. An equal number of items, although mostly of pamphlet size, were printed for the Evangelical Lutheran Synods of Virginia and Tennessee. One of these was the third edition of Paul Henkel's Lutheran hymnbook. After 1850 Funk printed fairly regularly the annual minutes of the Virginia Synod and occasionally those of the Tennessee Synod.

Funk printed eight items of a distinctly Mennonite character. Most of these he also published and are considered here under that heading. Three items not published but printed were two small pamphlets for J. and D. Brenneman, and J. MacGowan's *Infernal Conference* for Andrew Hess and Henry A. Showalter. A survey of the content nature of the music albums, the Lutheran items as well as the Mennonite ones, reveals that Funk & Sons were printers chiefly of religious literature. Some interesting items, not of a religious character, were a 348-page volume of fiction in 1853, and in the same year a farmer's pocket companion.

FUNK AS PUBLISHER

As publishers Funk & Sons were chiefly interested in sponsoring books pertaining to religious music or to Mennonites. Sometimes the two interests overlapped. From 1847 to 1860, that is during the father's connection with the firm, a total of seventeen items were published, if one counts separate editions as well as titles. Among these were seven editions of the *Harmonia* and three of *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs.* Alongside of these were two books on the Mennonite view of baptism, *A Mirror of Baptism,* and *The Reviewer Reviewed.*

During the first years, 1847-49, the firm published all the books it printed. Among these were three editions of a book on dyeing and an edition of Christoph Sturm's *Reflections.* The latter was an octavo volume of 490 pages, illustrated, the largest single item Funk printed or published. It came out in 1848 by subscription.[25] Anyone who has visited the Singers Glen community can understand why Funk was inclined to publish a work about the providence of God in nature. Just how successful this large volume was we cannot determine, but copies were still in stock in 1861 when Funk wrote his last will and testament.[26]

25 See note in Sturm's *Reflections,* 486.
26 Joseph Funk will, *Will Book, No. 1, Rockingham County,* 359.

BOOKBINDING

Bookbinding was also a specialty at the Funk printing office. In fact this trade was begun as early as 1841, six years before the printing venture. In that year a bookbinder, Joseph Shue by name, was engaged to come to Funk's home and to teach the trade to one of his sons. By the end of the year Funk brought the signatures of the third edition of his *Harmonia* from the printer at Harrisonburg and had his son Timothy bind them in his own house.[27] Likely all the copies of the third edition were bound in this manner at Singers Glen, and Wartmann had been engaged only as printer. The Funks gained some reputation as bookbinders, for at least one other printer in the Valley, John Gatewood of Woodstock, sent books to them for binding.[28] Many of the bindings which survive reveal expert workmanship, including some handtooling on calf.

With the coming of the Civil War in 1860 the activities of the firm began to decline. Funk himself was advanced in years. In 1860 an advertisement solicited jobwork, "handbills, blanks, cards, etc.," along with book printing and binding.[29] In 1861 only one item came from the press. Under what circumstances the music scores for a Confederate drill book were printed in 1862 we can only surmise. Funk's own family was divided on the war issue. During the remaining war years the press at Singers Glen was at a standstill.

As soon as the war ended Funk & Sons was reorganized and the office began to print and publish books. Aldine Kieffer, Funk's grandson, tells how he returned to Singers Glen in May, 1865, and set about with others to establish order in the printing house. The condition of the office, as he found it, he described as "one great mass of 'pi.' "[30] As soon after the war as 1866 the eleventh edition of the *Harmonia* appeared. New music albums were compiled and published; the music magazine was revived under a modified title, *The Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend.* In 1875, however, the firm Funk & Sons was dissolved, being succeeded by the Ruebush-Kieffer Company which was transferred to Dayton, Virginia, in 1877.

Funk & Sons as a Mennonite venture, however, came to an end at the outbreak of the Civil War and particularly upon the death of Joseph Funk on December 24, 1862. The members of the family who were active in the fields of music and printing sought affiliation with denominations other than Mennonite.[31] The relationship with the

27 MS correspondence, December 29, 1841.

28 Wayland, *A History of Rockingham County,* 332. The particular book involved was S. Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia* (1850, 2nd ed.).

29 See advertisement on back cover of *The Southern Musical Advocate,* January, 1860.

30 Kieffer, *loc. cit.,* XXI (June, 1890) 88.

31 Joseph Funk's family provides a case study of the impact of revivalism upon Mennonites in the middle of the 19th century. Funk gives the following account in one of his

church was lost, although two editions of *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs,* 1868 and 1872, were printed at Singers Glen after the war. Both of these editions, however, were bought by John F. Funk at Elkhart, Indiana, and sold by him. In 1880 Funk at Elkhart obtained the rights to publish further editions of this first Mennonite hymnbook in English.[32] The transfer at the time doubtless appeared to be very much a business transaction, but in reality it was much more: the leadership in Mennonite publication work had passed from Joseph Funk to John F. Funk, had moved from the mountains of Virginia to the flatlands of Indiana. The successor to the life and work of Joseph Funk as a Mennonite was his distant relative and true compatriot in the faith, John F. Funk.

* * *

The attached bibliography was possible only through the kind helpfulness of J. K. Ruebush, a leading citizen and bookseller at Harrisonburg, Virginia, who spared no labor to help find titles printed by his ancestor. I regret, especially for Mr. Ruebush's sake, that we found only forty-nine items instead of a round fifty. H. A. Brunk, custodian of the Rockingham County Historical Society, took an interest in my work and gave me some pointers. J. C. Wyllie, the Secretary of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, assisted me in various ways, but above all he broke the back—to use his figure—of overmuch drudgery by placing at my fingertips the cards of the WPA bibliography of Virginia imprints. I accepted favors from John A. Hostetler, book editor of the Mennonite Publishing House, who had no rest until I went to the limits of the explorable.

* * *

Part I of the bibliography describes with rather full detail the items Funk wrote, compiled, or translated. This was done because these items are intimately related to the central interests of his printing and publishing activities.

Part II seeks to be a complete list of all the items which came from Funk's press during his lifetime. It also indicates which of these items he published. Except in the case of the *Minutes* for the most part, and item 16, where the data was taken from a book auction catalog, the descriptions in both Parts I and II have been collated

letters, "A revival took place a few weeks ago, under the preaching of a Mr. Boyd, now pastor of the Presbyterian Church; he appears to be a very pious man, and I trust he is. Last Sabbath he had a sacramental occasion at the New Erection, where he received into the church 38 or 39 new converts; among whom were your brother Joseph and Elizabeth his wife—your brother Samuel—and your brother Jonathan's wife—with some of your cousins of your Aunt Sarah's family." MS correspondence, February 9, 1841.

32 Bender, *Two Centuries,* 21-22; Fretz, *A Brief History,* 290.

with the actual books or pamphlets. A century of time can efface a great deal of printed matter, so that it would be folly to claim completeness. Certainly some items still exist which have not been found; before this list appears in print Mr. Ruebush will most likely find the fiftieth item, and in the years ahead he, and others like him, will no doubt discover a goodly handful.

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Lehman, C. K., "Harmonia Sacra," *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II (1956) 664 f.
Miller, Ira Ebersole, "Joseph Funk Music Schools," *The Development and the Present Status of Mennonite Secondary Education in the United States and Canada* (1953), unpublished doctoral dissertation, 78-80.
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Wayland, John W., "Joseph Funk,—Father of Song in Northern Virginia," *The Pennsylvania German* XII (October, 1911); offprint c. 1935 by Ruebush-Kieffer Co., Dayton, Va.
——, ——, *A History of Rockingham County, Virginia,* (Dayton, Va., 1912).
——, ——, *The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley,* Charlottesville, Va., 1907).
——, ——, *Men of Mark and Representative Citizens of Harrisonburg and Rockingham County, Virginia,* (Staunton, Va., 1943).
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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOSEPH FUNK (1778–1862)

I. ITEMS WRITTEN, COMPILED, OR TRANSLATED BY JOSEPH FUNK

1. [*1816?*]. Die allgemein nützliche Choral-Music. enthaltend: auserlesene Melodien, welche bey allen Religions-Verfassungen gebräuchlich sind. Auf zwey Stimmen gesetzt. Begleitet, mit einer Vorrede, über die Music, oder Tonkunst; und mit einer, zum Grunde der Vocal-Music vollständigen Einleitung. Eingerichtet zum Gebrauch des öffentlichen Gottesdienstes, Sing-Schulen und Privat-Uebungen. Verfasset von Joseph Funk. Psm: 71, 23. Harrisonburg, gedruckt bey Laurentz Wartmann, Rockingham County, Virginia.

   8vo long, pp. 88. Contents: pp. 3-16, "Vorrede"; pp. 17-23, "Eine zum Grunde der Vocal-Music vollständige Einleitung"; pp. 24-80, text; pp. 81-85, "Ein Gespräch"; p. 86, "Nachricht"; pp. 87-88, "Register."

   Compiled by Funk; "Nachricht" written by him, and likely the "Einleitung" and the "Gespräch" also; the "Vorrede" written by

Johannes Braun. Date of publication uncertain, but "Nachricht" has at end, "Geschrieben im Monat July, 1816." Copies vary in minor details; "Joseph's Lied" occurs on endpaper of back cover in JKR copy.

Copies: EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.*

2. *1832.* A Compilation of Genuine Church Music, comprising a variety of metres, all harmonized for three voices; together with a copious elucidation of the science of vocal music. By Joseph Funk. Isaiah, ch. xxxv. v. 10. Winchester: Published at the Office of the Republican (J. W. Hollis, Printer) 1832.

8vo long, pp. 208. Contents: pp. 3-4, "Preface"; pp. 5-24, "Elucidation of the Science of Vocal Music"; pp. 25-26, "Metrical Index"; pp. 27-206, text; pp. 207-208, "General Index"; p. 208, "Erratta" [sic].

Compiled by Funk; all prefatory parts written by him. Ten eds. appeared during his lifetime: 2nd ed., 1835, also at Winchester by Robinson and Hollis, with 20 pp. added; 3rd ed., 1842, at Harrisonburg by Henry T. Wartmann, with "An Appendage" of 40 pp.; 4th ed., 1847, at Mountain Valley, Va., on Funk's own press, "with the Appendage blended with the body of the work"; 5th ed., 1851, at Mountain Valley, with a new main title, "Harmonia Sacra," added; eds. six to ten, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1858, and 1860, at Mountain Valley. (See Part II of this Bibliography for description of eds. printed at Mountain Valley.)

Copies: EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

1835. A Compilation of Genuine Church Music, comprising a variety of metres, all harmonized for three voices. . . . Second edition, greatly improved and enlarged. Winchester: Robinson & Hollis, Printers, 1835.

8vo long, pp. 224.

Copies: EMC, JKR.

1842. A Compilation of Genuine Church Music, Comprising a variety of metres, all harmonized for three voices. . . . Third edition, improved and enlarged, besides an appendage of 40 pages of choice music. Harrisonburg: — Henry T. Wartmann, Printer. — 1842.

8vo long, pp. 240, 40.

Copies: JKR, UV.

3. *1837.* The Confession of Faith, of the Christians known by the name of Mennonites, in Thirty-Three Articles; with a short extract from their Catechism. Translated from the German, and accompanied

*—*Key to Symbols Used in Bibliography*
EMC — Eastern Mennonite College Historical Library, Harrisonburg, Va.
GCL — Goshen College Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Ind.
JKR — Joseph K. Ruebush, Harrisonburg, Va.
LTSS — Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary, Columbia, S.C.
UV — Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.

with notes. To which is added an introduction. Also, nine reflections, from different passages of the Scriptures, illustrative of their Confession, Faith & Practice; by Peter Burkholder, Pastor of the Church of the Mennonites; Written by him in the German language, and from his manuscript translated, together with the foregoing Articles, by Joseph Funk. Eph. 2:20. Winchester: Printed by Robinson & Hollis. —1837.

16mo, pp. 461 [462]. Contents: pp. 3-30, "Introduction"; pp. 31-264, "Confession of Faith"; pp. 265-405, "Reflections"; pp. 405-423, three articles on baptism; pp. 42-434, "Extract from the Catechism"; pp. 435-457, "On Predestination"; pp. 458-461, "A Few Remarks."

Funk translated from the German the Confession of Faith, the extract from the Catechism (*Christliches Gemütsgespräch*), and the passages by Peter Burkholder. In addition to the "Reflections," Burkholder is author of the three articles on baptism and "On Predestination." Funk wrote the introduction, the notes accompanying the Confession, and "A Few Remarks."

Copies: EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

4. *1847.* A Selection of Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, from the most approved authors. Suited to the various occasions of public worship and private devotion, of the Church of Christ. By a Committee of the Mennonites. Harrisonburg, Va., J. H. Wartmann & Bros., Prs. 1847.

32mo, pp. 351 [352]. Contents: pp. 3-4, "Preface"; pp. 5-332, text; p. 333, "Contents"; pp. 334-340, "A Metrical Index"; pp. 341-351, "Alphabetical Index."

Funk was a member of the committee which compiled this hymnbook. The other members were Joseph Wenger and David Hartman. See *Minutes of the Virginia Mennonite Conference* (n.p., 1950), p. 2. Three later editions, bearing the title *A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs,* appeared during Funk's lifetime, all printed and published by him at Mountain Valley: 2nd ed., 1851, with 39 English hymns and an "Anhang, einiger Deutsche Lieder" of 27 hymns added; 3rd ed., 1855, with an additional 10 German hymns; 4th ed., 1859. It was the first Mennonite hymnbook in English. Binder's title: "Mennonite Hymn Book."

Copies: EMC, GCL.

5. [*1847?*]. [Chart] A map or General Scale of the scales of music; showing the connection of the parts of music with the chromatic and diatonic scales: together with a moving scale, by which will be shown, with facility, all the various keys, both major and minor—which are contained in the science of music. And also, showing, in a comprehensive manner, the proper use of flats and sharps in transposing them to each and every letter in the scale, and to each of their chromatic semitones. Invented by Joseph Funk, Rockingham Co., Va. Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1847 by Joseph Funk in the Clerk's Office of the Western District Court of Virginia. Lith. of T. Sinclair, Phila.

Chart, 28½ x 53 inches, printed within decorated borders.
Date of publication uncertain, but likely the same year it was copyrighted.

Copies: EMC, JKR.

6. *1851.* A Mirror of Baptism, with the Spirit, with Water, and with Blood. In three parts. From the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.
By Henry Funk. Minister of the Gospel in the Mennonite Church. I John, 5:8. Translated from the German.
Mountain Valley, Va.: (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by Joseph Funk and Sons. 1851.

16mo, pp. 130. Contents: pp. 3-4, "Translator's Preface"; pp. 5-6, "Contents"; pp. 7-10, "The Author's Preface"; pp. 11-15, "Introduction"; [p. 16], blank; pp. 17-118, text; pp. 119-130, "Appendage"; p. 130, "Erratum."

Translated by Funk, although "Translator's Preface," written by him, provides no such evidence. Concerning this translation Funk wrote in *The Reviewer Reviewed,* "The writer . . . was called on by the Church to translate it in the English language; and to which he consented, and completed the translation in 1851," p. 5. Funk's translation was reprinted and published by John Baer's Sons, Lancaster, Pa., 1890. The 1853 edition, Skippack, Pa., was a new translation.

Copies: EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

7. *1857.* The Reviewer Reviewed, Or, Thoughts and Meditations on the Sacrifices, Offerings, Emblems, Figures, and Types, of the Old Testament, compared in their fulfillment, with the antitypes in the New Testament. By Joseph Funk. John 5:39. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 309 [312]. Contents: pp. 3-4, "Preface"; pp. 5-309, text. Written by Funk as a rejoinder to Elder John Kline of the Church of the Brethren (Dunkers), who reviewed and refuted Funk's translation of *A Mirror of Baptism* (see item 6).

Copies: EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

8. *1859-1861.* [periodical] The Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend. Devoted to the Cultivation of Sacred Music. Published Monthly. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Joseph Funk and Sons, Publishers.

8vo, pp. 16 per issue. Vol. I, July 1859 to June 1860, 12 issues; Vol. II, July 1860 to April 1861, 10 issues.

Edited by Joseph Funk and Sons. The periodical was resumed after Funk's death as *The Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend,* from January 1867 to August 1869 (Vol. III, 1, to Vol. V, 8), with Aldine S. Kieffer and William S. Rohr as editors. In 1870 this was superseded by *Musical Million.*

Copies: No complete set of this periodical at one place, but all numbers may be found by consulting the collections at EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

9. [Unpublished manuscript] Of Time and Rhythm. 25 large quarto pages, illustrated with music. Manuscript in possession of JKR.

10. [Unpublished manuscript] A further reply to Elder John Kline regarding figures and types in the Old Testament particularly in regard to the mode of baptism. 316 octavo pages. Manuscript in possession of EMC.

II. ITEMS PUBLISHED AND/OR PRINTED BY JOSEPH FUNK AND SONS DURING FUNK'S LIFETIME

Asterisk (*) indicates item was both published and printed by Funk and Sons.

*1. *1847.* FUNK, JOSEPH. A compilation of Genuine Church Music, . . . Fourth edition, Improved and Enlarged, with the Appendage Blended with the Body of the Work. Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va: Published by Joseph Funk & Sons. Solomon Funk, Printer, 1847.

8vo, long, pp. 288. See item 2 in part I. EMC, GCL, JKR.

*2. *1848.* The Family Dyer, being a complete guide for coloring every variety of shade, on woolen, cotton, linen, and silk goods. Together with an appendage, containing directions for discharging colors, bleaching, &c. By an eminent European Dyer. Mountain Valley, near Harrisonburg, Va. Published by Joseph Funk & Sons. —1848—

12mo, pp. 41 [42], page of advertisement at end. JKR.

*3. —— The Family Dyer, . . . [2nd ed.] Mountain Valley, near Harrisonburg, Va. Published by Joseph Funk & Sons. —1848—

12mo, pp. 49 [50], page of advertisement at end. JKR.

*4. —— STURM [CHRISTOPH CHRISTIAN]. Sturm's Reflections on the Works of God, and His Providence throughout all Nature. Complete in one volume. Psa. 104:24, Mountain Valley, Virginia: Published by Joseph Funk & Sons. Solomon Funk, Printer. 1848.

8vo, illus., pp. 490, page of advertisement at end. A reprint of an English translation of Sturm's *Betrachtungen über die Werke Gottes im Reiche der Natur.* EMC, JKR, UV.

*5. *1849.* The Family Dyer, . . . Third Edition. Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va. Published by Joseph Funk & Sons. —1849—

12mo, pp. 49 [50], page of advertisement at end. JKR, UV.

6. *1850.* CALHOON, WILLIAM. An Essay on Jewish Circumcision and Christian Baptism. Showing who are the proper subjects of baptism, and the proper mode of baptism. By the Rev. William Calhoon, of Augusta County, Virginia. Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va: Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1850.

16mo, pp. 20. JKR, LTSS.

7. ——HENKEL, PAUL. Church Hymn Book; consisting of hymns and psalms, original and selected; adapted to public worship, and many other occasions. By the Rev. Paul Henkel. Published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod. Third edition en-

larged and improved. Newmarket: Solomon D. Henkel and Brothers. Joseph Funk & Sons, Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va., Printers and Binders. 1850.

32mo, pp. 546. Binder's title: "Church Hymn Book." JKR. GCL (defective).

8. —— Minutes of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held in Madison C.H., Madison County, Va., May 17-21, 1850. Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1850.

16mo, pp. 32. LTSS.

*9. *1851.* FUNK, HENRY. A Mirror of Baptism, . . . Mountain Valley, Va.: (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by Joseph Funk and Sons, 1851.

16mo, pp. 130. See item 6, Part I. EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

*10. —— [FUNK, JOSEPH; HARTMAN, DAVID; WENGER, JOSEPH]. A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. Suited to the various occasions of public worship and private devotion, of the Church of Christ. By a Committee of the Mennonites. Second edition, enlarged and improved. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by Joseph Funk & Sons, 1851.

32mo, pp. 384, 31 [32]. The 2nd ed. adds 39 English hymns and an "Anhang, einiger Deutsche Lieder" of 27 hymns. See item 4, Part I. EMC, GCL, JKR.

*11. —— FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music, . . . By Joseph Funk & Sons. . . . From the Fourth Edition newly arranged, enlarged and improved, with a new system of notation of seven character notes. Mountain Valley, Near Harrisonburg, Va. Published by the authors. Solomon Funk, printer, 1851. [title within border]

8vo, long, pp. 358. 5th ed., the 1st ed. with the new main title, "Harmonia Sacra," added. EMC, UV.

12. —— Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia, held at Newtown, Frederick County, Virginia, May 15-22, 1851. Mountain Valley, (Near Harrisonburg, Va.:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1851.

16mo, pp. 39 [40]. JKR, LTSS.

13. *1852.* Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Harrisonburg, Rockingham County, Virginia, May 13-19, 1852. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1852.

16mo, pp. 56. JKR, LTSS.

14. —— Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia, Held at Mount Tabor, Augusta County, Virginia, October 8-14, 1852. Mountain Valley, Virginia, (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1852.

16mo, pp. 40. LTSS.

15. —— STERRET, JAMES. A Concise View of Religious Denominations, derived from the most authentic sources. Published by James Sterret, a man destitute of eyesight since August, 1846. . . . Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1852.

    16mo, pp. 47 [48]. EMC, JKR.

16. *1853.* Charlie Morton, or the loves of boyhood; a tale from real life. By a student of William and Mary. Mountain Valley, Va. Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    8vo, pp. 348. No copy located; data from Anderson auction catalogue, No. 1930 (New York, 1925), item 347.

17. ——DOVE, ALPHEUS. The Farmer's Nonpareil Pocket Companion, containing an interest calculator. On sums from five cents to one thousand dollars, from one day to four years. Also several other tables that are highly useful to farmers, and men engaged in threshing. By Alpheus Dove. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed by Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    32mo, pp. 16. JKR.

18. —— [MACGOWAN, JOHN]. Infernal Conference: or Dialogues of Devils. By the Listener. In two volumes. Vol. I. Published by Andrew Hess & Henry A. Showalter. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    16mo, pp. 336, 2 vols. in one, pagination continuous, vol. 2 has half title only. EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

19. ——Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Smithfield, Jefferson County, Virginia, October 6-11, 1853. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    16mo, pp. 58. LTSS.

20. ——Minutes of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod. Held in Emanuel's Church, Sullivan County, Tennessee, October 14-19, A.D. 1853. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    16mo, pp. 32. EMC, LTSS.

21. ——MYERS, LEVI C. Manual of Sacred Music, or a choice collection of tunes, psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, arranged for three voices, adapted to Christian churches, singing schools, and private societies. Selected from the most approved authors. Together with an easy introduction to the ground work of music. By Levi C. Myers. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

    8vo, pp. 62 [64]. illus. UV.

22. —— RUSSELL [ROBERT]. Russell's Seven Sermons: . . . Published by James Sterret. A man destitute of eyesight since August, 1846. Circulated for the benefit of a generous Christian community, as

well as for the pecuniary assistance of the sufferer, who feels desirous to become as useful as possible in the few remaining days of his life. From the fifty-second London edition. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1853.

32mo, pp. 176. In addition to the seven sermons by Russell this item contains, "Extract from a Discourse delivered by The Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Newport, Rhode Island," pp. 167-171, and "Extract from the private writings of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards," pp. 172-176. EMC, JKR, UV.

*23. *1854.* FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music, . . . Sixth Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by the Authors. 1854.

8vo, long, 352 pp. JKR.

24. ——STERRET, JAMES. An Humble Effort to Promote Order. By James Sterret. . . . Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1854.

16mo, pp. 48. UV.

*25. *1855.* [FUNK, JOSEPH, *et al.*]. A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. . . . Third edition, with an appendage of German Hymns. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by Joseph Funk and Sons, 1855.

32mo, pp. 384, 48. 10 hymns added in the German appendix of this edition. EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

26. ——Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia, November 16-22, 1854. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1855.

16mo, pp. 40. LTSS.

27. —— Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Zion's Church, Augusta County, Virginia, October 4-9, 1855. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons,1855.

16mo, pp. 40. LTSS.

28. —— STERRET, JAMES. The Star of Peace, or Public Mirror. By James Sterret, . . . Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1855.

8vo, pp. 62 [64]. illus. UV.

*29. *1856.* FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music, . . . Seventh edition. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by the Authors. Solomon Funk, Printer. 1856.

8vo, long, pp. 360. JKR.

30. —— JEFFRIES, T. F. Nine years in Bed: or afflictions own. Written by the invalid T. F. Jeffries. With an Introduction by the Rev. T. D.

Bell. Mountain Valley, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1856.

32mo, 77 pp. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.

31. —— Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Woodstock, Shenandoah County, Virginia. October 16-20, 1856. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1856.

16mo, pp. 31 [32]. JKR, LTSS.

32. *1857.* Constitution By-Laws and Rules of Order, of Sangersville Division, No. 131, of the Sons of Tempèrance, of the State of Virginia. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 26. JKR.

33. —— "Crippled Fayette," of Rockingham, Detailing his times, and giving his rhymes. . . . Made helpless by the rheumatism since the 20th of October, 1847. . . . Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

32mo, pp. 187 [188]. JKR, UV.

*34. —— FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music, . . . Eighth Edition. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by the authors. 1857.

* 8vo, long, pp. 360. EMC, JKR.

*35. —— FUNK, JOSEPH. The Reviewer Reviewed, . . . Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 309 [312]. See item 7, Part I. EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

36. —— JEFFRIES, T. F. Ten years in Bed: or afflictions own. Written by the invalid T. F. Jeffries. With an introduction by the Rev. T. D. Bell. [2nd ed.] Mountain Valley, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 77. UV.

37. —— Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Central Evangelical Lutheran Church, Staunton, Va. October 8-13, 1857. Mountain Valley, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 32. JKR, LTSS.

38. —— SEISS, J. A. Our Temple: A sermon preached at the dedication of the "Central" Evangelical Lutheran Church, Staunton, Va. November 30, 1856. By the Rev. J. A. Seiss, A.M. Pastor of the Lombard Street Lutheran Church, Baltimore. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1857.

16mo, pp. 16. JKR, UV.

39. *1858.* BRENNEMAN, D.; BRENNEMAN, JOHN; BURKHOLDER, M. An invitation to sinners. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Printed for Christian Brunk, at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1858.

16mo, pp. 14. GCL.

*40. —— FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music. . . . Ninth edition. Mountain Valley, Va. (Near Harrisonburg.) Published by the authors, 1858.
8vo, long, pp. 360. EMC, UV.

*41. *1859.* FUNK, JOSEPH, *et al.*]. A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs. . . . Fourth edition, With an appendage of German hymns. Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Published by Joseph Funk and Sons, 1859.
32mo, pp. 384, 48. Some copies, bound later, have an appendix, "A Small Selection of Funeral Hymns. Ben. Funk Printer, Office, J. Funk & Sons, 1864," pp. 12. Of the 7 hymns in this appendix, 3 are by John Brenneman and one by D. Brenneman. EMC, GCL.

*42. *1859-1861.* FUNK, JOSEPH; AND SONS. [periodical] The Southern Musical Advocate and Singer's Friend. . . . Mountain Valley, Va., (Near Harrisonburg:) Joseph Funk and Sons, Publishers.
8vo, pp. 16 per issue, monthly. See item 8 in Part I.

43. *1859.* HUMPHRIES, WILLIAM W. A Biography and History of the Sufferings of William W. Humphries jr., Written by himself. Mountain Valley, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1859.
16mo, pp. 40. UV.

44. —— Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod, held in Bethlehem Church, Augusta County, Va., September 10-15, A.D. 1859. Mountain Valley, Va. Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1859.
16mo, pp. 25. LTSS.

45. —— [BRENNEMAN, J.; BRENNEMAN, D.] Hymns. Mountain Valley, Va.: Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1859.
16mo, pp. 10. GCL.

*46. *1860.* FUNK, JOSEPH. Harmonia Sacra, Being a Compilation of Genuine Church Music. . . . Tenth Edition. Singers' Glen, Rockingham Co., Va. Published by the Authors. 1860.
8vo, long 360 pp. The address of the firm changed in name but not place. Upon the establishment of a post office March 1860 the name changed from Mountain Valley to Singers' ['s] Glen. EMC, GCL, JKR, UV.

47. —— Minutes of the Thirtieth Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held in Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, Va., October 20-26, A.D. 1859. Mountain Valley, Va., Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk and Sons, 1860.
16mo, pp. 39 [40]. LTSS.

48. *1861.* Minutes of the Thirty-Second Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Virginia. Held at Mt. Tabor, Augusta Co., Virginia. October 18-22, 1861. Singers' Glen, Rockingham Co., Va. Printed at the Office of Joseph Funk & Sons, 1861.
16mo, pp. 32. JKR, LTSS.

49. *1862.* [Music Scores] "Bugle Signals," [appendix to] The Trooper's Manual: or, Tactics for Light Dragoons and Mounted Rifleman. Compiled, Abridged and Arranged by Col. J. Lucius Davis, . . . Third Edition. Richmond, Va. Published by A. Morris. 1862.
12mo, pp. 19 [20]. At end: "Joseph Funk and Sons, Singers' Glen, Rockingham County, Virginia, Music Printers." JKR.

NONRESISTANCE IN THE EARLY BRETHREN IN CHRIST CHURCH IN ONTARIO

E. Morris Sider*

The Brethren in Christ, first known as River Brethren, originated among the German element of the Susquehanna valley in Pennsylvania around 1780. Although documentary evidence is noticeably lacking there is justification in assuming that at least some of the founding fathers had originally been Mennonites. This and the fact that the area contained a large Mennonite population probably help to explain why many of the tenets of faith of the Brethren in Christ and the Mennonites are similar.

In 1788 a small group of River Brethren under the leadership of John Winger immigrated to Canada, settling in the Niagara peninsula of what was soon to become Upper Canada. John Winger shortly afterwards became the first bishop of the Brethren in Christ in Canada. The River Brethren had scarcely settled in the country when they became known as Tunkers, from the German verb meaning "to dip," because their German friends were impressed with their practice of baptizing by immersion. So rapidly and commonly was this term applied to the River Brethren that in 1793, only five years after their arrival in Upper Canada, the Militia Act of that year formally referred to them as Tunkers.[1]

The Mennonite influence on the early River Brethren may be seen in their firm belief in nonresistance. That this has always been one of their strong doctrines is shown by the following interesting account related in 1906 by A. B. Scherck, who was writing about the Tunkers as he remembered them as a boy in Waterloo County in the 1850's:

> In Pennsylvania there was a Tunker who had a neighbor that was his bitter enemy. During the Revolutionary War this neighbor got into trouble for some misdeed, was court-martialed and sentenced to be shot. The Tunker heard of it and walked many miles to intercede for the life of the poor man. Washington said: "Since this man is your friend I will spare his life." "I asked for his life," replied the Tunker, "because he is my enemy."[2]

Although again there is no documentary proof, it is not illogical to assume that perhaps one of the reasons for the immigration of River Brethren to Canada was their belief in nonresistance. British

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1 34 George III, c. 7, s. 22.

2 A. B. Scherck, "The Tunkers," *The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Annual Transactions* (1909) 6:64.

rule and institutions at this time offered more security and tolerance for those who held such beliefs, especially since the new nation, the United States, had been born of revolution and a military struggle. Thus it is possible that the early members of this faith, having had nothing to do with the military struggle, were suspected by their fellow countrymen of being Tories, and consequently may have suffered some abuse from their neighbors.

The following quotation from his *Biographical History of Waterloo* is Ezra Eby's statement of the case for nonresistance as a major cause for the immigration to Canada of such people as the River Brethren:

> Although these people did not take part in either side of politics, yet their sympathies leaned toward the Crown during the Revolutionary War, and immediately after peace was restored and the independence of the territories declared, hundreds of these people . . . left their homes in the new Republic and traveled to British territory. . . . The cause of this may have been the great faith they had in the British Government in fulfilling their promise . . . in granting them exemption from military services and from taking oaths. All these things had a tendency to give them attachments to the countries ruled by Britain, and finally may have been the principal cause for their settling in Canada.[3]

Although this suggestion probably exaggerates the role which peace principles played in the immigration of the River Brethren to Canada, this factor undoubtedly contributed to that immigration.

Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was apparently in sympathy with those who believed in nonresistance, for he suggested at one time that Quakers and other sects should have freedom from military duty if they came to Canada. In a letter to Dundas, the Secretary of State, he outlined his policy:

> There is every prospect of very great migrations taking place out of the United States into His Majesty's Dominions and I have not hesitated to promise to the Quakers and other sects the similar exemption from militia duties which they have always met with under the British Government.[4]

It is not known whether Governor Simcoe actually discussed this issue with members of the River Brethren. It is clear, however, that as far as he was concerned such privileges would extend to them.

Simcoe's promises were kept. By the Militia Act of 1793 the Tunkers as well as the Quakers and Mennonites were granted exemption from militia duties, although a tax, or fine, was imposed for this privilege. In spite of efforts to change it, this act provided the background for similar legislation for a number of years. The essence of

3 Ezra Eby, *Biographical History of Waterloo* (Berlin, Ontario, 1895) 1:805-806.

4 E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Simcoe Papers* (Toronto: Published by the Ontario Historical Society, 1923) 1:198-199. Simcoe to Dundas, August 20, 1792.

the act was that the Quakers, Mennonites, and Tunkers would be excused from military service upon showing evidence of membership in one of these religious groups. For this privilege, however, a fine of twenty shillings per annum in time of peace, and five pounds per annum in time of war, was to be paid by each member thus excused. If this fine was not paid the goods of the offending individual could be confiscated to provide the payment. Provision was made for an appeal, however, if it appeared that harsh or unjust measures were used in carrying out this penalty.[5]

The tenor of the above act was repeated in later legislation with certain modifications. In 1808 a regulation was enacted that anyone given exemption from militia duty who should fail to pay the fine would not only have his goods seized for payment, but upon conviction the justice "shall commit him to the common gaol of the district until the fine is paid."[6] A notable addition was made to the Militia Act in 1810 when the minors of Tunkers and Mennonites were also exempted from militia duty. The *Journal of the Legislative Assembly* for this year contains the petition which the Tunkers and the Mennonites sent to the Assembly for this privilege. In the petition they stated that many of their sons were under age and thus, being incapable of making their own decisions, were not members of the church; for these the petitioners desired exemption from militia service:

> The petition of the Society of people called Mennonists and Tunkers, Humbly Sheweth
>
> That by an Act of the Province, passed in the thirty-third year of his Majesty's reign, Your Petitioners, after producing a certificate from three or four respectable people, one of whom must be a preacher in the Society to which they belong, shall pay in time of peace Four Dollars a year, and in the time of invasion or insurrection Twenty Dollars a year, for which favourable law and liberty of conscience we are thankful to God and the Government under which we live. And whereas many of Our Sons now under age and incapable of judging in matters of conscience, are not as yet actually considered as church members, and cannot of course secure the necessary certificate, we therefore pray the same indulgence may be extended to them, that is granted to ourselves, their parents, that is that they may be exempted from serving in the militia by paying the commutation money until they arrive at the age of twenty-one, or until they be admitted as church members.[7]

The *Journal* does not give the names of those who made this petition but it shows that the request was signed by "two preachers, two elders and thirty-five members of the Society of Mennonists and Tunkers."

5 34 George III, c. 7, s. 22.
6 48 George III, c. 1, s. 27.
7 *Province of Upper Canada, Journal of Legislative Assembly* (February 10, 1810) 129, Ontario Bureau of Archives (1911) 301-302. All men from sixteen to fifty years of age were required to report for militia training.

What is more important is that the petition was granted and the minors of Tunkers and Mennonites were granted exemption from military service.[8]

There is a story handed down in the Brethren in Christ church which claims that Bishop John Winger was the instigator of this act. He went in person to the government officials, and according to the report he said to them: "How is it with our children? We do not take them into the church as members before they are converted." The officials are said to have replied: "If they would also comply with the same rules and conditions, that is, to be a peculiar people, practice nonconformity to the world and have nothing to do with political matters they shall also be free."[9]

A slight change in the militia laws occurred in 1837. In this year the peacetime fines were reduced from twenty shillings to ten. But the five pounds tax for exemption during time of war was retained.[10] The above provisions were repeated in the Militia Act of 1839,[11] and again in 1841 when exemption privileges and fines were applicable to those "living within that portion of this province which formerly constituted the province of Upper Canada."[12] Still later, in the Militia Act of 1846, exemption from militia duty with the accompanying fines was again provided.[13]

Without question the fines imposed on the Tunkers as well as the Mennonites and Quakers for exemption from militia service were a financial burden, particularly since these groups were composed of families which were both large and, because they were farmers, usually rather poor. Thus many attempts were made by those thus burdened to lighten and even to cancel these fines. These attempts took the form of petitions to the Legislative Assembly; and they were noted in the *Journals.* As early as 1801 a bill, presumably originating from a petition, was brought forward in the Assembly which would grant indulgences "to the people called Quakers, Menonists, and Tunkers."[14] The bill passed the Assembly but it was not returned from the Council. Again in 1810, in the petition requesting exemption for minors noted above, an appeal was made for a consideration of the burdens imposed on those required to pay the militia fines:

> And your Petitioners further pray that your Honorable Body will take into your consideration the many difficulties which poor people, with large families, have to labour under in new settlements, and if you in your

8 This act was 50 George III, c. 11.
9 *Origin and History of the Tunker Church in Canada* (Ridgeway: M. V. Disher, 1918) 4.
10 1 Victoria, c. 8, s. 50.
11 2 Victoria, c. 9, s. 52.
12 4-5 Victoria, c. 2, s. 2.
13 9 Victoria, c. 28, s. 31.
14 *Province of Upper Canada, Journal of Legislative Assembly* (June 17, 1801) Ontario Bureau of Archives (1909) 202.

wisdom should deem meet to lessen the burden of our commutation money your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.[15]

Apparently, however, nothing was done with this part of the petition for no further mention of it is found in the *Journals*.

No further petitions for relief from militia fines are noted in the *Journals* until 1829. In that year a notice was given that a bill would be presented "to amend so much of the militia laws, as imposes fines upon Quakers, Menonists, and Tunkers, for the nonperformance of militia duty";[16] but for some reason no such bill was presented. In the following year the Assembly received a petition from Isaac Robb, a Mennonite, and eighteen others in the Niagara district, asking for a relief from militia fines.[17] In conjunction with this request a petition came from the Gore district led by Jacob Erb and signed by seventy others, both Mennonites and Tunkers, asking that "the amount exacted from them as exempt money may be lessened, and that they may be allowed to commute by working on the roads."[18] The effect of these two petitions was that a bill disposing of all fines in time of peace was passed by the Assembly,[19] but it was not returned from the Council.

A variation in the petitions came in 1832 when, in a petition from Waterloo County led by S. Bowman, a Mennonite, and signed by 240 others including Tunkers, it was requested that the fines be collected with the assessed taxes and that they be reduced in time of peace.[20] A bill containing these requests was read but was not carried further. Following this, a request for removal of militia fines came in November, 1833, from Jacob Fry and was supported by Mennonites and Tunkers.[21] A bill was presented to exempt all persons from such fines except in time of actual invasion, but this was "negatived."[22] The next petition for relief from militia fines came not from those who were paying the fines but from James Johnson, Esq., and 110 others from the Niagara district who were apparently impressed by the severity of the fines. A bill for this purpose was presented to the Assembly but was also not carried further.[23]

An interesting affair occurred when a bill was presented in 1835 to repeal the laws imposing fines in time of peace for exemption from militia service. This bill was passed by the Assembly but, along with other bills, it was not returned from the Council. Finally a committee was appointed by the Assembly to inquire into the proceedings

15 *Ibid.* (February 10, 1810), Ontario Bureau of Archives, (1911) 302.
16 *Ibid.* (January 14, 1829).
17 *Ibid.* (February 10, 1830).
18 *Ibid.* (February 17, 1830).
19 *Ibid.* (March 1, 1830).
20 *Ibid.* (December 31, 1832).
21 *Ibid.* (November 30, 1833).
22 *Ibid.* (February 18, 1834).
23 *Ibid.* (January 4, 1834).

of the Council on these bills.[24] Although the committee reported that the Council had taken the question into consideration, the Assembly failed to have the bill returned from the Council. The conflict between the two houses is seen again when in the following year, 1836, the Assembly passed a bill to cancel militia fines in time of peace;[25] and again a committee was formed to search for the Council's action. But this effort was likewise of no avail for the Council refused to return the bill.

Again in 1837 a bill to repeal militia fines in time of peace was passed by the Assembly but rejected by the Council.[26] The action had its effect, however, for by the Militia Act of that year militia fines during time of peace were lowered from twenty to ten shillings per annum as noted above.[27]

In 1841 a petition from two Mennonite ministers, Jacob Gross and David High, and others, possibly Tunkers, asked for a reconsideration of the militia fines. [28] This resulted in nothing more than having a bill reported. A similar petition in 1846 from Mennonites and Tunkers, headed by the Reverend Jacob Gooft (?), was not even acted upon.[29] Attempts at the reduction of militia fines were now undertaken by the Municipal Council of Niagara. In 1847 this Council petitioned the Assembly for the amendment of the act relating to these fines. The petition was favorably received and a bill embodying the request was passed by the Assembly;[30] but like all other such bills which succeeded in reaching this stage, this bill also fell in the Council. The Assembly, however, representative of the people, remained sympathetic to the cause of the petitioners; and in 1849 it passed a bill to do away with all militia fines.[31] By this time the Council was persuaded to concede the issue so that on May 30 royal assent was given to the bill.

This act completely and finally rejected the principle of fines as a substitute for militia service. Certificates of membership were still required, however, to gain exemption from the militia. Because of its significance to this study the act is quoted:

> Whereas it is expedient to repeal so much of the Act regulating the Militia of this Province as obliges Quakers, Mennonists and Tunkers to enroll themselves in any Company Division in Upper Canada and to revive the Act herein mentioned relating to the payment to be made by such persons in lieu of serving in the militia; Be it therefore enacted . . . that

24 *Ibid.* (April 14, 1835).
25 *Ibid.* (January 30, 1836).
26 *Ibid.* (February 18, 1837).
27 1 Victoria, c. 8, s. 50.
28 *Province of Canada, Journal of Legislative Assembly* (June15,1841).
29 *Ibid.* (April 3, 1846).
30 *Ibid.* (July 1, 1847).
31 *Ibid.* (May 25, 1849).

the 31st Section of 9 Victoria, Chapter 28, and as much of the said Act as repeals the Acts of 4 and 5 Victoria, Chapter 2, and so much of the said first-mentioned Act as may be inconsistent with or repugnant to this Act or to the secondly mentioned, shall be and are hereby repealed in so far as regards that portion of this Province which formerly constituted the Province of Upper Canada.[32]

Although the Tunkers and Mennonites petitioned the Assembly for a reduction in militia fines and were under a financial burden while paying them, it is recorded that these fines were paid without much complaint.[33] Sometimes, however, the designated officer neglected to collect the fine, either through sympathy or indifference; but when such cases were discovered the delinquent officer was required to collect not only the immediate fine but all back payments as well.[34]

Quite naturally, certain elements in the areas where the Tunkers, Mennonites, and Quakers lived were not in sympathy with the privileges granted to those who opposed military service, even though such privileges were accompanied by a fine. This opposition is described by the adjutant-general of the militia, Colonel N. Coffin, in a letter to Sir Peregrine Maitland, the lieutenant-general of Upper Canada. In the letter he reports the findings of a select committee on conditions within the militia. Among other things the letter states that the exemption given the various religious groups produced a twofold effect: it discouraged others from being responsive to militia duties; and it prevented sound financial support of the militia because of this lack of response. The letter explains:

There is another neglect prevailing among the officers commanding Regiments and the Treasurers of Districts which produces much discontentment among the Militia-men who are required by law to perform militia duties. This neglect consists in the not levying the fines imposed by law upon Quakers and others who are exempt under certain conditions from serving in the militia. The Militia-men who serve with good-will see the absentees escape with impunity, and the Quakers, Tunkers, etc., remaining at home, without being made to contribute to the Public Funds the sum required by law to be by them paid; they therefore cannot help feeling the injustice of this state of things and they naturally become from year to year more indifferent in their performance of their Militia duty. Out of these neglects no doubt grows much of the opposition which has for some years past been manifested to the Militia System in some parts of the Province and by some members of the Legislature. . . . The Adjutant-

32 12 Victoria, c. 88.

33 The Quakers were more reluctant to pay the militia fines. Since these fines were used to support the militia, and thus considered by the Quakers as supporting the military program of the province, they refused to pay the fines and even disciplined and disowned their members who did so. As a result the Quakers experienced more hardship in this area than did the Tunkers or Mennonites; often their goods, according to the law, were confiscated to pay their fines and not a few were imprisoned. Arthur Garratt Dorland, *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto, 1927) 20.

34 A. B. Sherk, "Early Militia Matters in Upper Canada, 1808-1842," *The Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* (1915) 13:70.

General begs leave also to state to your Excellency that past experience convinces him that the House of Assembly is not likely to vote any further sums in support of his Department, partly from the reasons just now mentioned.[35]

Those who were opposed to military service at times performed other types of noncombatant duty in addition to paying the militia fines, whether willingly or unwillingly. There is some justification in believing that John Troyer, a rather eccentric individual who immigrated to Long Point Bay, Upper Canada, in 1789, was a Tunker.[36] If this is correct, his petition for crown land is of interest in this respect. His petition shows that he was not averse to performing noncombatant service:

Your Petitioner prays that your Excellency and the Honourable Council will please to have compassion on him, and if it is against the Tenets of his Profession to bear arms, he has no objection to employ his Team in any service of the Government either civil or military.[37]

During the War of 1812-14 this type of noncombatant service was required of a number of those who were opposed to active duty. It is not certain how the Tunkers were affected by the War, but it is known that the Mennonites were required to serve in army hospitals and camps. Some served as teamsters in the transport service, supplying their own horses and wagons.[38] While there are no recorded instances of Tunkers being placed under such circumstances, it is not illogical to assume that such service was required of some members.

Various acts, succeeding that in 1849 which repealed all militia fines, reaffirmed the exemption from militia service of Tunkers, as well as Mennonites and Quakers, notably those passed in the years 1855, 1868, and 1886.[39] The Militia Act of 1904 did not mention Tunkers specifically, nor any other religious group, but it granted exemption from military service to "persons who, from the doctrines of their religion, are averse to bearing arms or rendering personal military service."[40] Apparently the South African War at the turn of the century caused some uneasiness to Brethren in Christ church officials who considered it necessary to restate the church's position on

35 The Adjutant-General of the Militia, Colonel N. Coffin, to Sir Peregrine Maitland, September 13, 1828, *Upper Canada State Papers*, 16:118-123.

36 See George Laidler, "John Troyer of Long Point Bay, Lake Erie," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* (1947) 39:19.

37 E. A. Cruikshank, "Petitions for Grants of Land, 1792-6," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* (1927) 24:143.

38 W. E. Breithaupt, "First Settlements of Pennsylvania Mennonites in Upper Canada," *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records* (1906) 7:103.

39 These were respectively: 8 Victoria, c. 77, s. 7; 31 Victoria, c. 4, s. 17; and the Revised Statutes of Canada (1886) c. 1, s. 26.

40 4 Edward VII, c. 23, s. 11 and 12. This was repeated in the Revised Statutes of Canada (1906) c. 41, s. 10.

military service. Thus in 1900 at least two district councils declared emphatically that it was wrong "to go to war."[41] The Markham district council took the step of disowning one of its members because he had "gone to war."

A final note may be added concerning the experiences of the Brethren in Christ during World War I. Although the church officials took steps to prepare for action in the event of a general call to arms their efforts were not sufficient to avert some rather serious difficulties. The Military Service Act of 1917 did indeed grant exemption from military service, but only to those who were "of an organized religious denomination and well recognized in Canada . . . and to which he in good faith must belong."[42]

The fact that the individual seeking exemption from military service must belong to a "well-recognized" religious denomination was a barrier which had to be overcome before the men of the Brethren in Christ church were given exemption from military service. When the conscription program was begun in earnest in the earlier part of 1918 those members of the church who were eligible for the draft were conscripted because the term "Brethren in Christ," as the church had recently come to be called, was not a well-recognized name such as the continued use of the term "Tunker" would have been. As a result a number of young men were drafted and because of their convictions were confined for some time in jail; two were even sent to the penitentiary at Camp Burwash.[43]

During this time, however, the Mennonites, who were a "well-recognized religious group" and had been more diligent in keeping up their status with the government, were able through their representatives on the Non-Resistant Relief Organization to persuade the government that the privileges of exemption should also be granted to the Brethren in Christ.[44] Upon this development the Brethren in Christ men were released.

The story of nonresistance in the Brethren in Christ church is probably better documented than any other aspect of its early history. These sources show that in Canada the Brethren in Christ together with the Mennonites and Quakers have been leaders in advocating this great ethical principle.

41 *Nottawa District Council Minutes* (1900) Article 4; see also *Markham District Council Minutes* (January 26, 1900) Article 6.

42 7-8 George V, c. 19, s. 11(f).

43 For a fuller study see E. J. Swalm, *Nonresistance Under Test* (Kitchener, 1944).

44 S. F. Coffman, "Mennonites and Military Service," in L. J. Burkholder, ed., *A Brief History of the Mennonites in Ontario* (Toronto, 1935) 269.

ATTENDANCE IN MENNONITE COLLEGES, 1955-56

Silas Hertzler

The names and addresses of the eighteen Mennonite colleges, seminaries, and schools of nursing, reporting attendance for the school year 1955-56, follow. Included this time are two Canadian high schools which regularly have students in the college freshman class.

Mennonite Biblical Seminary, 4614 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana
Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas
Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia
Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio
Grace Bible Institute, 1515 South Tenth Street, Omaha 8, Nebraska
Bethel College, 1000 North McKinley Avenue, Mishawaka, Indiana
Tabor College, 400 South Jefferson Street, Hillsboro, Kansas
Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas
Mennonite Brethren Bible College, 77 Kelvin Street, Winnipeg 5, Manitoba
Pacific Bible Institute, 2149 Tuolumne Street, Fresno 21, California
Freeman Junior College, Freeman, South Dakota
Canadian Mennonite Bible College, Corner University Boulevard E. and University Place, Tuxedo, Winnipeg 9, Manitoba
Bethel Deaconess Hospital School of Nursing, 411 South East Second Street, Newton, Kansas
Bloomington Mennonite School of Nursing, Bloomington, Illinois
Mennonite Collegiate Institute, Box 73, Gretna, Manitoba
La Junta Mennonite School of Nursing, La Junta, Colorado
Mennonite Educational Institute, Box 127, North Clearbrook, British Columbia

Table I gives an over-all picture of the complete attendance in these colleges. The grand total of 4,180 includes part-time students on the college and graduate school level, as well as a few special students in music, art, and Bible, who have never finished secondary school. The total increase over the year 1954-55, was 269. This increase of nearly 6.9 per cent compares favorably with the average expansion of attendance in colleges throughout the United States. Surprisingly the enlarged attendance was found in nine schools only. Eighty-six freshmen were added from the two new schools not previously included. The greatest change in numbers was at Bethel Col-

lege, North Newton, Kansas, with the addition of 73 students. The most significant increase, however, was at the Mennonite Biblical Seminary. The addition of 12 students at this school represented an increase of over 34 per cent, due mainly to the fact that a summer session was held. The Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Mennonite Educational Institute each gave one year of college work, therefore these schools are included for 1955-56.

A comparison of Table II for 1954-55 and for 1955-56 points out in which college classes the changes took place. Increases occurred over the previous year in all college classes, and on the graduate level. Due to the large enrollment in the freshman year for 1954-55, and to the inclusion of two new schools for 1955-56, the freshman and sophomore years for 1955-56 reflected the greatest increases.

Table III points out that the enlargement of the student body was in both Mennonite and non-Mennonite groups. Additional Mennonite students totaled 114, and 155 were non-Mennonites. The proportion of Mennonites to the total attendance was 73.95 per cent. This was slightly less than the record of 76.37 per cent for 1954-55.

Summer enrollment is shown in Table IV. Freeman Junior College did not report a summer session in 1955. However, Mennonite Biblical Seminary did have 15 students engaged in summer study, so the total number of summer schools reported was 10, as for 1954. The attendance in all summer groups was 853, which represented an increase of 91 students over the previous summer.

Table V lists degrees granted and diplomas awarded. Distinctly graduate degrees show an increase from year to year. This is reflected in both the Bachelor of Divinity and in the Master of Religious Education degrees. For the first time the M.R.E. was conferred by the Goshen College Biblical Seminary in 1955. The Th.B. degree was granted in smaller numbers and at fewer institutions. A total of 414 students from eleven schools received four-year bachelor's degrees. Twenty-two different bachelor's degrees were conferred. The B.A. degree with 174 is by far the most popular, though the number of B.S. in Education degrees granted increased in this one year from 82 to 111. At Goshen College, for the first time, there were more B.S. in Education degrees conferred, than there were B.A. degrees. Various types of non-degree diplomas continue to be given. Diplomas of less significance than the four-year bachelor's degree were granted by twelve of the reporting schools. The most popular of these diplomas was the two-year Associate in Arts.

TABLE I

Total Enrollment in Mennonite Colleges, 1955-56

School	Graduate Students	College	Special Students	Total Enrollment	Men	Women	Details Not Given
M.B.S.	41	6		47	31	16	
Goshen	56[1]	1028[2]	3[3]	1087	458	629	
Bethel (Kansas)		597	67[3]	664	297	367	
E.M.C.	17	446[5]		463	216	247	
Bluffton		288	59[3]	347	185	162	
Grace		305		305	145	160	
Bethel (Indiana)		278	11[3]	289	128	161	
Tabor	5	252	7[3]	264	128	136	
Hesston		111[4]		111	47	64	
M.B.B.C.	3	87	15[3]	105	59	46	
Pacific		91		91	51	40	
Freeman		81		81	32	49	
Canadian		76		76	40	36	
Bethel Deaconess		64		64		64	
Bloomington		54		54		54	
M.C.I.		51		51			51
La Junta		46		46		46	
M.E.I.		35		35	23	12	
Totals	122	3896	162	4180	1840	2289	51

1 50 Seminary students; 6 Liberal Arts graduate students
2 25 Correspondence students
3 Students not of college grade
4 2 Correspondence students
5 326 Liberal Arts College; 90 Bible College; 30 correspondence students of college grade

TABLE II

Enrollment by Classes, 1955-56

School	Graduate Students	Seniors	Juniors	Sophomore	Freshmen	Special	Summer[7]	Other Depart.	Total
M.B.S.	41					6			47
Goshen	56[1]	119	144	149	212	272[2]	132	34	1087
Bethel (Kansas)		86	65	111	148	119[3]	68	67[4]	664
E.M.C.	17	54	48	75	159	28	40	42[5]	463
Bluffton		32	42	73	105	16	20	59[4]	347
Grace		16	51	98	101	39			305
Bethel (Indiana)		21	53	51	72	68	13	11[4]	289
Tabor	5[6]	30	29	59	101	13	20	7[4]	264
Hesston		3	2	25	73	8			111
M.B.B.C.	3	3	14	24	46			15[4]	105
Pacific		8	9	18	33	23			91
Freeman				30	33		18		81
Canadian			11	16	49				76
Bethel Deaconess			21	22	21				64
Bloomington			18	15	21				54
M.C.I.					51				51
La Junta			14	18	14				46
M.E.I.					35				35
Totals	122	372	521	784	1274	592	311[7]	204	4180

1 50 Seminary students; 6 Liberal Arts graduate students
2 236 part-time, 11 extension students; 25 correspondence
3 67 evening students; 52 irregular college students
4 Students not of college grade
5 30 correspondence students; 12 irregular resident students
6 Liberal Arts graduate students
7 Not counting duplicates with the school year

TABLE III

Students by Denominations, 1955-56

School	Mennonites			Non-Mennonites			Grand Total
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
M.B.S.	29	15	44	2	1	3	47
Goshen	342	460	802	116	169	285	1087
Bethel (Kansas)	229	226	455	68	141	209[1]	664
E.M.C.	206	238	444	10	9	19	463
Bluffton	67	77	144	118	85	203	347
Grace	92	103	195	53	57	110	305
Bethel (Indiana)	92	79	171	36	82	118	289
Tabor	120	112	232	8	24	32	264
Hesston	43	60	103	4	4	8	111
M.B.B.C.	56	45	101	3	1	4	105
Pacific	30	31	61	21	9	30	91
Freeman	23	37	60	9	12	21	81
Canadian	40	36	76				76
Bethel Deaconess		59	59		5	5	64
Bloomington		17	17		37	37	54
M.C.I.			51[2]				51[2]
La Junta		41	41		5	5	46
M.E.I.	23	12	35				35
Totals	1392	1648	3091[3] 3040[4]	448	641	1089	4180

[1] All of the 67 music and art students not of college grade, included here

[2] Assumed that all are Mennonites. No details separating men and women in the report

[3] Vertical total

[4] Horizontal total

TABLE IV

Students in Summer Session, 1955

School	Men	Women	Total
Goshen	71	231	302
Bethel (Kansas)	47	101	148
Bluffton	21	47	68
E.M.C.	17	49	66
Bethel (Indiana)	26	38	64
Bethel Deaconess		64	64
Bloomington		54	54
La Junta		46	46
Tabor	7	19	26
M.B.S.	13	2	15
Totals	202	651	853

TABLE V

Diplomas Given and Degrees Granted 1956

	M.B.S.	Goshen	Bethel (Kansas)	E.M.C.	Bluffton	Tabor	Bethel (Indiana)	Grace	Pacific	Hesston	Canadian	Bloomington	La Junta	Freeman	Total
B.D.	7	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
M.R.E.	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Th.B.	..	9	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
B.A.	..	63	42	5	18	28	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	174
B.S. in Ed.	..	71	2	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83
B.A. in Bible	..	..	..	14	..	1	..	14	7	..	..	..	..	..	36
B.S. in Nursing	..	20	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
B.R.E.	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	8
B.S.	..	..	..	3	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
B.A. in Miss. Anth.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
B. of Chr. Ed.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	4
B.S. in Business	..	..	6	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
B.S. in Elem. Ed.	..	..	14	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26
B.S. in Biology	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Home Ec.	..	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
B.A. in El. Ed.	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Ind. Arts	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
B.S. in Sec. Ed.	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
B. Music Ed.	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.A. in Sec. Ed.	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
B.S. in Chem.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Nat. Sc.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Phy. Ed.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B. Sacred Music	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
B.S. in Th.	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Bible—4 year	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Nursing Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23	14	..	37
Bible—3 year	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
A.A.	..	11	11	..	..	3	..	..	..	23	..	..	..	11	59
A.A. in Bible	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Junior College	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Jr. Col. Bible	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
Christian Educ.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	7
Social Work	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Miss. Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Music Diploma	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Christian Educ.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Am. Studies	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2
2 yr. normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	8
2 yr. Business	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
Sec.—1 year	..	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
1 yr. normal	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	6
Totals	11	208	97	55	47	32	23	48	8	26	11	23	14	29	632

RESEARCH NOTES

ON THE BEGINNINGS OF BERNESE ANABAPTISM

It has long been held that Bernese Anabaptism goes back to Waldensian sources, that it originated before 1525, and that there was no dependence on Zurich Anabaptism in the beginning. Delbert Gratz was the most recent historian to advocate this theory.[1] This view is rejected by Paul Peachey in his study of the social background of the Swiss Anabaptists,[2] and his reasons for its rejection would seem to be sufficient. The following note is to confirm the observations of Peachey on a major point.

One of the main arguments for the theory in question has been the date of the letter of Heinrich Bullinger to Heinrich Simler in Bern on the baptism of infants. Bullinger refers to the "saying of many people," that "also in Bern the teaching of Anabaptism is being spread."[3] Since its publication by Johann Jakob Simler in 1760 the letter has been dated at the end of 1524 or the beginning of 1525.[4] This would argue that Bullinger had heard about Anabaptism in Bern as early as that. Anabaptism in Zurich, however, did not begin before January, 1525. Conclusion: Bernese Anabaptism was not dependent on Zurich.[5] Against this tradition Paul Peachey went back to the source of J. J. Simler's publication, a manuscript by an unknown copyist, which by the filing within the archive collection rather suggests May or June, 1525, as the probable date.[6] Peachey found support for the later date in the content of Bullinger's letter, which refers to Hubmaier's opinion on baptism (Hubmaier was baptized in April, 1525), as well as to Grebel's arguments, and presupposes the spread of the movement in regions outside Bern. Peachey's observations are convincing. But they can be, and have been, supplemented and corrected by some further arguments.

The first has been stated by Joachim Staedtke in a research note on the question at issue.[7] Staedtke found in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, an autograph copy of Bullinger's letter.[8] This is the original, a copy of which was used by J. J. Simler. It also is not dated, but again the order of its insertion into the manuscript codex gives some suggestions. The letter following it is one on "the institution and genuine use of the eucharist" written by Bullinger on December 10, 1525. This date should be the *terminus ad quem* for the letter to Heinrich Simler. The *terminus a quo,* however, still remains uncertain, for the letters preceding are also undated. They must have been written during the first half of 1525. Staedtke therefore is led to the conclusion that the summer, or more like-

1 Delbert Gratz, "The Bernese Anabaptists in the Sixteenth Century," *MQR* (1951), 25:147 ff.

2 Paul Peachey, *Die soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer in der Reformationszeit* (Karlsruhe, 1954), 82-85; cf. *MQR* (1954), 28:114, n. 20.

3 "Es langt an vns durch viler lüten sagen, allerliebster Heinrych, wie ouch by vech zuo Bern des widertouffes ler gefürt werde."

4 Johann Jakob Simler, *Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden d. Schweizerlandes* (1760), 2:90-92.

5 The article of Delbert Gratz (see note 1 above) was published in book form in 1953: *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants* (Goshen, Indiana). In this second version Gratz changed the date of the letter to 1525/26 (pp. 6 and 7), although there is no indication as to why he did so. The note still stands in the same connection and is to prove the early beginning of Bernese Anabaptism.

6 Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Ms. S 14, No. 29.

7 Joachin Staedthke, "Die Anfänge des Täufertums in Bern," *Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1955), 11:75-78.

8 Ms. A 82, f. 75-81.

ly the autumn of 1525 is the time of Bullinger's letter to Simler. This hypothesis is supported by a second argument. It is apparent that the contents of Bullinger's letter are based on Zwingli's first pamphlet against the Anabaptists, *Von dem touff . . . .*[9] The dependence of some parts is even literal. Zwingli published his booklet around the end of May, 1525. The letter to Simler therefore cannot have been written before this date.

The third argument, however, is decisive. It was used 74 years ago by Johann Martin Usteri in his study of Bullinger's teaching on the sacraments,[10] but since then has been completely forgotten. Usteri asserts Bullinger's knowledge also of Zwingli's second writing against the Anabaptists, the answer to Balthasar Hubmaier's *Taufbüchlein,* published on November 5, 1525,[11] and concludes that Bullinger's thoughts on the covenant of God with man in the Old Testament are not taken from Zwingli's first, but from his second book against Anabaptism.[12] It was here that he learned the arguments of Hubmaier against infant baptism.[13] And here he found the abusive term "Taufgänse" referring to the Anabaptists.[14] Both books by Zwingli were in his hands when he wrote his letter to Heinrich Simler. It cannot have happened before November 5, 1525. Taking the already fixed *terminus ad quem,* there is only a very short time within which Bullinger could have sent the letter to Bern: between November 5 and December 10, 1525.

A fourth observation fits into this picture. On December 1, 1525, Leo Jud, a preacher in Zurich, wrote a letter to Bullinger, which was to be an answer to another letter Bullinger had written to Zwingli just previous to this.[15] In his letter Bullinger had informed Zwingli of two passages in the church fathers which agreed with Zwingli's view on the unity of the old and the new covenants and consequently of circumcision and baptism. The very same passages from Tertullian and Lactantius are cited in Bullinger's letter to Bern.[16] It was a discovery he had just made and of which he informed his master Zwingli, not forgetting to mention it in his own opusculum as well.

From November 6 to 8, 1525, the third Zurich disputation with the Anabaptists took place. It was a very important event. From all the parts of Switzerland where Anabaptism had spread people came to attend the meeting. It is likely that Bullinger was present there.[17] It probably was at this disputation that he heard, "by the saying of many people," about the rise of Anabaptism also in Bern and was moved to warn his friend Heinrich Simler. It seems to have been the first news he received about it. And that it was the same Anabaptism as that which he himself had witnessed in Zurich was clear to him. The Bullinger letter proves rather than disproves the dependence of Bernese Anabaptistm on the movement in Zurich.[18]

Emden, Germany HEINOLD FAST

9 *Zwinglis sämtliche Werke (Corpus Reformatorum,* 1907 ff.), IV, No. 56, pp. 188-337.

10 Johann Martin Usteri, "Die Vertiefung der Zwinglischen Sakraments und Tauflehre bei Bullinger," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1883), 730 ff.

11 *ZW* (*CR*) IV, No. 68, pp. 577-647.

12 Cf. J. J. Simler, 2:93 ff., with *ZW* IV, 630 ff.

13 Cf. Simler, 2:107, with *ZW* IV, 634, 3 ff.

14 Cf. Simler, 2:104 and 108, with *ZW* IV, 634, 16.

15 Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms. F 62, 341.

16 Simler, 2:100 ff.

17 I have discussed this question in a detailed study on Bullinger's relations to the Anabaptists which is yet to be published.

18 The question of an evangelical influence which had prepared the way for the Anabaptist message ("perhaps through traces of Waldensianism": Peachey) is not touched by this.

BERNESE ANABAPTIST ORIGINS

The rise of interest in the beginnings of Bernese Anabaptism has brought forth three recent notes on the problem which reflect typically thorough European research.[1] It is to be regretted that each of these scholars worked primarily with Zürich archives rather than with those at Bern, where, quite logically, one must begin.

This problem would be a very worth-while one, and likely quite rewarding for the scholar who would dedicate some time to it. He would, of course, have to go beyond the Bullinger-Simler letter, which has been so admirably dated in the above-mentioned notes.[2]

The fact remains that the time of origin of the Anabaptists in the Bernese Republic and the date the letter was written by Bullinger to Simler was not necessarily the same date, as is inferred in the comments by Fast, *et al.* It is to be regretted that there is no written account of the Bernese Anabaptist beginnings as there is of the group in Zürich. To say that there were Anabaptists in Zürich before there were any in Bernese territory is not possible from the evidence at hand. Nor can one conclude that when Anabaptism did originate in the Bernese state it was the result of "missionaries" from Zürich. The evidence is simply lacking to prove such a supposition. There is evidence of contact between Zürich and Bernese Anabaptists a short time later; although here it must be noted that this was with the group in the city of Bern itself, and not the Brethren to the east in the Emmental, and to the south near Schwarzenburg. In fact, these latter named groups seemed to have little to do with the Bern city group (let alone any "foreigners" from Zürich!), a phenomenon which only a Bernese can understand.

When studying the history and origins of a religious group it is highly important that one understand thoroughly the area, the times, the people, and its contemporary types and leaders, rather than to superimpose a twentieth-century American or Prussian outlook on these humble sixteenth-century Bernese peasants, before he draws conclusions on a subject of this nature. While it is not likely that a clear picture of Bernese Anabaptist origins will ever be known, it is quite conceivable that much more could be learned by a scholar who would delve into the problem with an open mind and a keen insight into things Bernese.

Bluffton College DELBERT GRATZ

CODICUM BERNENSIUM, 464

In the January, 1956, issue of the *MQR*, pp. 75-77, reference is made to the "discovery" by H. Fast of a manuscript in the Bern (Switzerland) Bürgerbibliothek, entitled "Das Kunstbuch."

This fine old European library is more officially known as the Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern. The valuable document referred to is quite well known and is designated by the library as *Codicum Bernensium, 464. Anabaptistarum opuscula, Germanice.*

This document was known to those who delved into Anabaptist materials in Bern, as Ernst Müller and Adolf Fluri, although they did not use it in their studies, since it has no connection with Bernese Anabaptism, their field of specialty.

1 Paul Peachey, *Die soziale Herkunft der Schweizer Täufer in der Reformationszeit* (Karlsruhe, 1954) 82-85. Joachim Staedke, "Die Anfänge des Täufertums in Bern," *Theologische Zeitschrift* (Basel, 1955) 11:75-78. Heinold Fast, "On the Beginning of Bernese Anabaptism," above.

2 The dating of the Bullinger-Simler letter was based on the J. J. Simler collection published 1760. The date was changed from 1524-5 in the *MQR* article to 1525-6 in the monograph by a copyreader or editor, quite unknown to the author until after the appearance of the volume.

In April, 1950, this manuscript, as well as the other Anabaptist source materials in the Stadt- und Universitäts-bibliothek Bern, was microfilmed for the Mennonite Historical Library, Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio, where a copy has been since that time. Professor John C. Wenger, a Marpeck student, was made aware of this document at that time.

Bluffton College DELBERT GRATZ

AGAIN, ON BERNESE ANABAPTIST ORIGINS

A careful examination of the evidence submitted by Delbert Gratz regarding the time of origination of the Anabaptist movement in the territory of the Canton of Bern, both in his book *Bernese Anabaptists,* pp. 1-7, and in his statement above, together with evidence from other sources, leads to the following conclusions:

(1) The earliest documentary evidence for the existence of Anabaptists in Bernese territory is in late 1525, whether one takes the Haller letter of Nov. 29, 1525, or the Bullinger letter to Simler of the time between Nov. 5 and Dec. 10, 1525 (a dating which Gratz accepts). The first minutes of the Bern Council dealing with Anabaptists are dated Oct. 22, 1525; they refer to Aargau, however. There is positive evidence of the beginning of Anabaptism in Zurich on Jan. 21, 1525. Anabaptists were discovered in Basel in August, 1525, in Aargau in early 1526 (possibly Oct. 22, 1525). The order of positive appearance of Anabaptists in western Switzerland is therefore Zurich (January), Basel (August), Bern (November), Aargau.

(2) It is known that Anabaptist missionaries from Basel early penetrated Bern; they may have been the founders there. The known Anabaptist participants in the Bern debates of May, 1527, and January, 1528, were with one exception all from outside of Bern, chiefly from Basel, Aargau, and Chur. This would suggest that Bernese Anabaptism was not of indigenous origin but the result of "foreign" missionary effort, and quite weak in Bern. There is no evidence for or against direct influence from Zurich at the beginning, but since Anabaptism in Basel and Aargau was of Zurich origin, it is clear that Bernese Anabaptism was at least indirectly of Zurich origin. Emmenthal Anabaptism, according to available evidence, could have been planted from Basel, Aargau, or the city of Bern.

(3) The first Bernese Anabaptists mentioned were in the city of Bern. The first evidence of Anabaptists in the Emmenthal is later, certainly not before 1526, probably not before 1527. It is clearly subsequent to the city group. Gratz does not date the movement in the Emmenthal before 1530. The first document specifically mentioning Anabaptists in the Emmenthal is dated Sept. 6, 1527.

(4) As to Waldensian origins of Bernese (or any Swiss) Anabaptism, Gratz cites no evidence of any Waldensians in Bern at any time after 1399, or in any nearby territory after 1430. The hypothesis of a hidden unreported Waldensianism in Bern after that time (presumably as late as 1525-27), might be plausible if they actually reappeared at some subsequent period. But they never did reappear at any time. The claims of direct Waldensian origin are purely speculative. The claimants will have to bring actual reported Waldensians closer to the first Bernese Anabaptists than one hundred years to have their claims taken seriously. Furthermore, as Gratz himself reports, the Waldensian beliefs (1399) "reflect more closely the spirit of the Reformers than the early Anabaptist confessions of faith," and the Waldensians did adopt the Reformed or Calvinistic confession shortly before the middle of the 16th century. This does not deny at all that Waldensianism may have helped to prepare the soil for Anabaptism at many places, not only in Switzerland. HAROLD S. BENDER

The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite Movement. Volume I, A-C; Volume II, D-H; Volume III, I-N. Edited by Harold S. Bender, C. Henry Smith, and Board of Editors. Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955, 1956, 1957. Pp. xvi, 749, 47; xiv, 886, 22 (third volume to be published December 1957, fourth volume, 1958). $11.00 per volume.

The Mennonite Encyclopedia is a monumental achievement. Two volumes of this four-volume encyclopedia have been published. The third volume, which the reviewer has examined in page proofs, will be published yet this year. It may be the greatest publishing achievement in more than four hundred years of Anabaptist-Mennonite history. It seeks to cover comprehensively the entire history, faith, ethics, institutional life, and culture of the Anabaptists and Mennonites in all parts of the world. The prospectus prepared by the editors sketches the formidable magnitude of this undertaking: "This four-volume work contains 3,200 pages in which appear 10,000 articles, 400 illustrations, and over 100 maps of Mennonite communities in Europe, North America, South America, and other parts of the world. . . . An attempt has been made to supply articles on all known existing and extinct Mennonite congregations, institutions, organizations, and publications. Included also are countries, states, provinces, counties, cities, and towns where Mennonites have lived."

As remarkable as the contents of the *Encyclopedia* is the story of the joint enterprise in editing and publishing. The three major North American Mennonite bodies—the Mennonite Church, the Mennonite Brethren Church, and the General Conference Mennonite Church—have assumed joint responsibility for the publication of the *Encyclopedia*. Four hundred and seventy-three individuals contributed articles to the first volume alone. What adds to this amazing account is that the Mennonites of North America are a small group of 210,000 members. There are, of course, the Catholic and Jewish encyclopedias; and the Lutherans intend to publish a 2,500 page encyclopedia in 1961; but the reviewer knows of no small denominations which have undertaken a task of such magnitude as this. It bears testimony to the tremendous historical and church consciousness and the upsurge of scholarly activity among them. This renaissance in historical studies has been spearheaded by the very men who are serving as editors of the *Encyclopedia*.

It is staggering to contemplate the research and writing load borne by the editor, Harold S. Bender, and the associate editor, Cornelius Krahn. Dr. Bender is widely known as dean and professor of church history in the Goshen College Biblical Seminary, and editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Dr. Krahn is professor of church history at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, and editor of *Mennonite Life*. The hundreds of articles which end with the initials, "H.S.B." (Harold S. Bender) bear testimony to the wide-ranging interests of the editor. From his pen have come articles on "Military Service" and "Ministers' Manuals," "Jamaica," and "*Junge Gemeinde*," "Lay Preachers" and "Life Insurance," "Infant Baptism" and "Illuminated Manuscripts," "Hymnology," "Footwashing" and "Famine Relief," "Evangelism," "Art," and "Inquisition." Similarly Cornelius Krahn writes on a variety of topics: "Molotschna" and the "Münster Anabaptists," "Kansas" and "Hymnology," "Incarnation of Christ" and "Industry Among Mennonites in Russia."

The *Encyclopedia* would not have been possible without a few editors giving their own encyclopedic knowledge and great devotion, and much of

their waking hours to this undertaking. But also this has been a corporate enterprise with a carefully detailed staff organization. The board of editors consists of Bender and Krahn, ably assisted by Melvin Gingerich, managing editor, and ten assistant editors, all of them authorities in various areas of Mennonite scholarship. Financial planning and responsibility is carried by a publishing committee of six composed of two representatives from each of the three supporting Mennonite conferences. In addition the board of editors draws upon the services of an editorial council of fifty, which is broadly representative of European and Latin-American Mennonite scholars, North American Mennonite constituent groups, and well-known Protestant church historians.

Within the board of editors is a general delineation of responsibility. Cornelius Krahn is responsible for articles on the Russian Mennonites and the North American Mennonites of Russian background. N. van der Zjipp is editorially responsible for all Dutch articles, Ernst Crous for the materials on the German Mennonites, Robert Friedmann for all Austrian and European Hutterite articles. In addition to his duties as editor-in-chief, Harold Bender is primarily responsible for the remaining articles related to the American scene. Dr. Bender's writing assignments are so varied that they defy classification. The unsung heroine of the entire undertaking is Mrs. Harold Bender, who has translated with feeling and precision virtually all of the articles drawn from the *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

The roots of the *Encyclopedia* lie deep in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* the excellent European Mennonite encyclopedia which has been appearing in installments since 1913. By agreement in 1946 with the late Christian Neff and the heirs of the late Christian Hege, editorial rights to materials in the *Lexikon* were granted to the *Encyclopedia.* Neff and Hege, the able editors of the *Lexikon,* thus become major post-humous contributors to the *Encyclopedia.* One man who had a crucial role in the initial planning for the *Encyclopedia* did not live to see the fruition of his labors. He was Dr. C. Henry Smith, who helped to lay the foundations for the work and who, until his death in 1948, served as co-editor with Dr. Bender and completed the writing of numerous articles which had been assigned to him.

The editors are to be congratulated for the rapid pace of publication which they have maintained, the first three volumes appearing successively in 1955, 1956, and 1957. This speaks highly of the corporate planning and discipline of the board of editors.

The fruits of this good staff work are to be seen in the content of the *Encyclopedia.* Beginning with an article on "Aachen" the *Encyclopedia* proceeds to describe thousands of localities associated with the movement: Alaska, Alsace, Basel, Blue Ball in Pennsylvania, Chicago, China, Constantinople, Danzig, Ee in the Netherlands, Florida, France, Harvey County in Kansas. The opponents of Anabaptism are rewarded with very substantial articles. These include by way of illustration: Theodorus Beza, Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger, John Calvin, Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon. Then, of course, there are the Anabaptist and Mennonite leaders themselves. Thousands of these biographical entries appear in the volumes. All known Anabaptists of the sixteenth century are identified. Deceased leaders of the recent past are also included. Hundreds of articles on Mennonite families are included, these but a few: Amstutz, Buhler, Burkholder, Dyck, Fast, Fretz, Hartzler, Lehman, Musselman. Students of family history will find many a helpful suggestion here. The doctrines and practices of the Mennonites throughout their long history are treated

in such topical articles as these: "Admission into the Church," "Anointing with Oil," "Ban," "Baptism," "Catechism," "Communion," "Confirmation," "Fasting," "Footwashing." The *Encyclopedia* reflects new dimensions of scholarly inquiry, especially a heightened interest in the social, economic, and cultural dimensions of history. In this the *Encyclopedia* is to be contrasted with the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* with its greater restriction to ecclesiastical history. The following articles illustrate this interest in cultural developments: "Alcohol," "Amusements," "Birth Rate," "Farm Machinery," "Furniture," "Bundling," "Buggy," "Ceramics," "Costumes," "Clocks," "Harvest Festivals," and the "Economic History of the Hutterian Brethren."

Many features of this *Encyclopedia* commend themselves to this reviewer. Here in one publication are more than one hundred excellent maps of areas where Mennonites live or have lived. Most of these maps are available nowhere else. One would recommend to the editors that a Mennonite atlas be prepared in which these maps were assembled in one booklet with the appropriate introductory explanations. This would be highly useful to classes in Mennonite history.

In the back of each volume are many excellent illustrations grouped topically. Here is the best collection of illustrations to be found anywhere of clothing worn by Mennonites throughout history. The illustrations of meetinghouses are highly interesting. One observes that meetinghouses in America in the early days had a functional simplicity and modest beauty which has been lost in the eclectic, conventional structures of our day. I am disposed to observe that with few exceptions, Mennonite meetinghouses in America do not express in brick and mortar the best in the Anabaptist faith.

The reading the *Encyclopedia* is delightful for the little items one discovers. I learned for the first time of a "Judenplan" in South Russia, a joint Jewish and Mennonite agricultural development experiment. One discovers in the third volume that it takes seventeen pages of entries to report on all the Anabaptist and Mennonite leaders whose Christian name was "Jan." The *Encyclopedia* is good in ferreting out obscure groups of Mennonites, for example the Johnson and the Horning Mennonites.

A very admirable feature of the *Encyclopedia* are the articles based on doctoral studies. Here in distilled form one finds the essence of the dissertation together with the most significant supporting bibliographical information. Examples of these are Harold Bender's article on "Conrad Grebel," Cornelius Krahn's "Menno Simons," Irvin Horst's "England," J. Winfield Fretz's "Mutual Aid," John C. Wenger's "Franconia," Melvin Gingerich's "Iowa," and others.

Many articles in the *Encyclopedia* are classics in their field. These are found in the fine collection of articles which are carried over from the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* and which reflect solid European scholarship. One sees this in Christian Hege's article on "Mandates," Johann Loserth's article on "Balthasar Hubmaier," and Christian Neff's articles on "Martin Bucer" and "Wolfgang Capito." The articles on "Historiography" by Harold Bender and Cornelius Krahn are required reading for any scholar launching his explorations in Anabaptist or Mennonite history. Bender and Krahn present in their articles on "Hymnology" material nowhere else available. Robert Friedman's article on the "Hutterian Brethren," including maps and lists of Hutterite Bruderhofs, now becomes indispensable for anyone pursuing studies of the Hutterites. N. van der Zjipp has enriched the *Encyclopedia* with thorough, comprehensive articles on the

"Martyrs' Mirror," and "Netherlands." In addition van der Zjipp has helped preserve the memory of hundreds of Dutch martyrs with his excellent brief biographical sketches. The martyr biographies are an outstanding feature of the *Encyclopedia.* There are some two thousand of these biographies, beginning with Abraham Picolet, who was burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1569. In the section of the "M's" one finds a cluster of very fine articles by Cornelius Krahn: "Manitoba," "Menno Simons," "Molotschna," and "Münster Anabaptists." Irvin Horst's article on "England," supported by substantial bibliographical information, is a distinguished contribution. The group of articles on "Mennonites in Literature," to which Harold Bender's wife and daughter made notable contributions, are outstanding. The very excellent article, "Confessions of Faith," bearing the initials of Christian Neff, John C. Wenger, and Harold S. Bender bear witness to the scholarly collaboration which has entered into the production of this *Encyclopedia.*

An encyclopedia provides such a broad subject for examination that any reviewer can single out ways in which the publication could be improved. The critical observations of this reviewer are incidental, not fundamental. The following suggestions and criticisms might merit consideration: 1) A much more liberal use of "see entries" would increase the usability of these volumes. To illustrate, there could have been an entry on "Feetwashing" calling attention to the article "Footwashing" and an entry on the "Black Bumper Mennonites" referring to the article "Horning Mennonites." 2) The material on some subjects is fragmented among several articles when the total subject could have been treated in one article. A variety of "see entries" would have called attention to the one major article. For example, one finds substantial articles on both "Java" and "Indonesia" when both areas could have been embraced in one article. The article on "Genealogy" could very well have been fused together with the one on "Family History," the latter serving as an excellent introduction for the former. The articles on church discipline are widely scattered under such entries as the following: "Avoidance," "Marital Avoidance," "Ban," "Excommunication," "Discipline," "Counsel Meeting," etc. 3) Some subjects are handled on a regional basis but without an introductory general discussion. One finds, for example, a collection of regional articles on the "Ministry" but no introductory section. 4) One also finds certain subjects treated in a general introduction but with some of the supporting regional studies missing. For example, following the article on "Alcohol" one finds only two regional articles, one on "Alcohol Among the Mennonites of Northeast Germany" and another on "Alcohol Among the Mennonites of Northwest Germany." In a regional study of alcohol among the Mennonites of Switzerland one might have noted that the Mennonites of the Jura region are virtually the sole producers of an alcoholic beverage made from the Yellow Gentian, a drink which commands a high price on the Bern market. 5) One finds occasional typographical errors, missing author's initials, and some unevenness of writing style. This, of course, is unavoidable in three volumes with more than 2,000 pages, with 400 to 500 unpaid contributors, and in a tense world of weekly publication deadlines. It is remarkable that one finds so few errors and that there is such a high level of accuracy and readability. 6) The editors assumed responsibility for writing articles on subjects in which they have been deeply involved organizationally or concerning which they have declared publicly their views. Especially on some topics which may be subject to a variety of interpretations, this personal involvement may introduce a subtle subjective coloration.

It is inescapable that omissions will be found in even the best of encyclopedias. The important question is whether they are major omissions. The editors of the *Encyclopedia* are to be commended for the comprehensiveness of the coverage. Few items escaped their encyclopedic minds. The principal omissions, it seems to me, are in the theological field. Articles appear on the "Holy Spirit," "Church," "Salvation," but none on such basic theological subjects as Jesus Christ, Creation, Kingdom of God, Faith, etc. This may be a striking commentary on contemporary Mennonitism. The absence of an article on the subject of ecumenics constitutes a serious omission and may also be a judgment upon current Mennonitism. The subject of closed communion could have been discussed either in the article on "Communion" or under a separate topic. No article could be found on Child Evangelism, which has made great inroads as a movement in certain Mennonite areas. This reviewer would have welcomed a major article on the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* which is the crowning achievement of several generations of study in Anabaptism and Mennonitism.

Readers will find other omissions. Some subjects may have been considered for inclusion but rejected because they were thought to be too insignificant or peripheral. Undoubtedly, some subjects were not included because contributors failed to submit their assigned articles in time to meet press deadlines. The reviewer missed articles on Dwight D. Eisenhower and his Brethren in Christ inheritance, Dispensationalism, and the Fairfield, Pennsylvania, Mennonite Church. Knowing Editor Bender's fondness for cheese, the reviewer could chide him on the absence of an article on Cheese. The Mennonite contribution to this industry is not inconsiderable. Mennonites in Switzerland are major producers of such cheeses as Emmental (commonly known as "Swiss cheese"), Tilsit, and Tete de Mine (Monk's Head).

This reviewer would have welcomed a fuller treatment of the subject matter in several articles: 1) The current re-examination of Pilgram Marpeck's theology in the light of the covenant idea would justify an expanded article on the Covenant. 2) The excellent article on "Love" and "Agape" could have been supplemented by a thorough survey of the love motif in Anabaptist and Mennonite doctrinal statements and other literature. 3) The Jura region of Switzerland could have received more attention. 4) The article on the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* was much too modest. The thirty volumes of scholarly articles, documents, research notes, and reviews have made a tremendously significant contribution to Mennonite historiography. This contribution could have been analyzed more exhaustively. 5) The articles on Mennonites in business and industry could have received substantial enlargement. One might have included a study of industries launched by individuals of Mennonite ancestry, such as Hershey in chocolates, Kraft in cheese, Kresge in merchandising. 6) In the article on "Disputations" it would have been helpful to have included a listing of all known disputations and bibliographical data as to where the source materials can be found. 7) In general the theological articles could have been expanded.

Many articles appearing in the *Encyclopedia* may be considered to be "definitive." The editors, however, would make no claim that these volumes together constitute a definitive work. The intention of the editors in the *Encyclopedia* is to open doors to continued and never-ceasing inquiry. These volumes will serve their purpose if they stimulate scholars to press their explorations to the point that revisions will even be required in the

Encyclopedia. The groundwork has been laid in these volumes for a number of studies: 1) The whole story of extinct Mennonite churches could be studied, seeking reasons for the decline and disappearance of these churches. 2) The hundreds of entries dealing with Mennonite publications could be gathered together into a study of the history of Mennonite publishing interests. 3) A scattering of articles on church discipline suggest that this is a subject deserving comprehensive and continued study. 4) The Anabaptist and Mennonite use of the Bible calls for much further inquiry. 5) A good study could be made of the development of church polity and office holding. One notes a variety of articles related to this subject: "Call to the Ministry," "Church Offices," "Bishops," "Deacon," "Elder," "Lay Preacher," etc. 6) The article by Harold Bender on "Inter-Mennonite Co-operation" suggests a wide field for further study. Inter-Mennonite co-operation at the local community level ought to be carefully studied, as well as trends in inter-Mennonite marriages. The relation of inter-Mennonite co-operation to the great ecumenical theme merits study in Biblical and theological depth. 7) The *Encyclopedia* provides a wealth of material which could be integrated into a comprehensive study of the migrations of Mennonites. 8) No area of Mennonite research invites greater study than the subject of theology. I am wondering whether all the articles in the *Encyclopedia* related to great theological issues, if bound together into one volume, would give the impression that the Mennonites have wrestled mightily with the great issues. I would suspect that the total impression would be that the Mennonites today are more interested in describing historically held theological positions than in depth encounters with the great issues.

The Mennonite Encyclopedia will be a great landmark in the history of Mennonite studies and publications. This becomes now the standard reference work on Mennonitism. The small but growing band of working scholars in Anabaptist and Mennonite studies will make intensive use of the *Encyclopedia.* From now on, this becomes the starting point for all research in this area. For those who are confined to the English language, a whole world of European scholarship is now opened and mediated to them. Here scholars will find signposts pointing toward frontiers of study beckoning for exploration. Here they will find bibliographical suggestions and germ ideas for their studies. It will have interest not only for the scholar of Anabaptism but for all students of the Reformation and contemporary Protestantism. Hence, it should find its place in theological libraries everywhere.

The Mennonite Encyclopedia, however, is more than a reference work for the specialists. It affords a mine of interesting information for anyone curious to learn more about one of the unique and fascinating religious movements of modern history. To those who are committed to a fresh, new encounter with the claims of the Anabaptist tradition, the possession and reading of these volumes becomes a required assignment. Ministers, Sunday-school teachers, editors, writers for church publications should have these volumes within easy reach. In their red jackets these are very attractive volumes on the shelf. However, one ought to cultivate habit patterns of using the *Encyclopedia.* The individual with a lively interest in Anabaptist and Mennonite history and culture may wish to take these volumes along for reference on his travels. Scarcely a region of this country is without some entries and maps. The well-publicized Mark van Doren family was asked recently to account for the amazing encyclopedic knowledge of members of the family. In part they attributed their lively

curiosity and vast storehouse of knowledge to the fact that family discussions were continuously being punctuated by trips to the dictionary and to the encyclopedias.

This reviewer joins with all readers in expressing gratitude to the editors of the *Encyclopedia* for their great and tireless labors. No greater appreciation, however, could be expressed to the editors than when individuals read frequently in these volumes and capture there a new vision of their calling in the Kingdom.

Bluffton College ROBERT KREIDER

Opponents of War, 1917-1918. By H. C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. Pp. xiii, 379. $6.00.

During the 1930's in a meeting of representatives of the historic peace churches, when the yellow paint, the tar and feathers, and even the lynchings of World War I were recalled as reprisals against conscientious objectors and "opponents of war," one brother wondered whether in World War II they would "take us out and shoot us." Happily, this prospect was not fulfilled. The difference between Civilian Public Service of World War II and the courts-martial, the filthy dungeons, the manacling to bars, and even the dunkings into cesspools of World War I is a real one. No doubt the opponents of war, as well as the government and the American public had learned by their former experience how better to approach a similar crisis in the future.

The present volume is an excellent summary of the lessons taught in World War I. Truth as the first casualty of war is seen in the difficulty experienced by the Committee on Public Information in keeping the superpatriots within the bounds of truth in their public statements: "We are hearing some very disturbing reports as to the speeches that are being made by Dr. Hillis . . . such speeches as we have been able to see are somewhat reckless as to facts. The matter has been brought to the attention of the President repeatedly." Many other preachers added to the fury, saying that "the person who claims to be neutral ought to be exported," and newspapers were asking, "for goodness sake, when is the firing squad to get busy?" On April 4, 1918, this wish was fulfilled when a mob at Collinsville, Illinois, seized Robert Paul Prager, a young man of German descent who had been rejected for military service for physical reasons, stripped him of his clothing, wrapped him in an American flag, and dragged him through the streets. When he was rescued by the police and placed in jail the mob broke into the jail and hanged him on a tree.

Based on a variety of sources, *Opponents of War* is a well-done overall account of the various types of nonconformity to World War I and of its treatment at the hands of the government and of the public. The story of wartime hysteria, of the Espionage and Sedition Acts and other legal, extralegal, and illegal measures employed for the control of the press, the coercion of aliens, socialists, and political nonconformists, and for the suppression of freedom of thought is well told and fully documented.

Other phases of the subject are less fully treated. The chapter on the conscientious objector, for example, except for the files of the American Civil Liberties Union, is based almost entirely on printed sources and on secondary works. The definitive story of the religious objector, especially of members of the historic peace churches, using manuscript sources of the churches, of the state councils of defense, and of the offices of the Adjutant General, the Provost Marshal General, and of the Department of Justice, remains to be written.

Goshen College GUY F. HERSHBERGER

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